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The Seconde Parte of a Register

In two Volumes
Volume I

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The Seconde Parte of a Register

Being a Calendar of Manuscripts under that title intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr Williams's Library, London

EDITED BY

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With a Preface

BY

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CONIVGI DILECTISSIMAE

PREFACE

ONE of the most marked characteristics of historical studies in England at the present day is the increasing attention devoted to ecclesiastical history. Since this century began five societies have been founded for the study of the history of particular religious bodies and the publication of documents relating to them. The Congregationalists, the Baptists, and the Friends, all publish periodicals containing dissertations on historical questions and materials for history, while the Jewish Historical Society and the Catholic Records Society have already published many volumes of original documents. Enterprising editors during the same period have collected and printed by subscription materials of the same kind, or reprinted rare tracts. And besides this the University presses of Cambridge, Oxford, and Manchester have published a number of books either containing new documentary evidence or utilising unpublished materials. A bibliography of these works would be a useful but a considerable task, and would take too much space for this Preface. While some of them deal with what may be termed purely sectarian history, others have a wider scope and deal with periods anterior to the definite separation of particular religious societies from the English Church. To this last class Dr Peel's book belongs, and it should be regarded as a contribution to English ecclesiastical history as a whole.

Elizabethan Puritanism has attracted many investigators in recent years. Mr Burrage's *Early English Dissenters* and his works on Robert Browne, Mr Usher's *Presbyterian Movement in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Dr Powicke's *Henry Barrow*, Mr Pierce's *Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, are recent examples of the increasing interest in this subject.

The collection of manuscripts calendared by Dr Peel is a very useful and necessary addition to the materials already in print for the period. The manuscripts in question had been already utilised by older writers such as Neal and Brook but only partially employed, and somewhat uncritically and inaccurately dealt with. A calendar was the best way of making them accessible to students, for the cost of printing them all *in extenso* would have been prohibitive, and many of them were not of sufficient value to deserve reproduction at length. To provide a key to the whole collection by indicating the contents of each particular document, and to print in full the essential portions of those which were important were tasks requiring judgment as well as industry, and Dr Peel has performed his work in a scholarly fashion.

The documents calendared cover the period from 1570 to 1590. Amongst them are a number of projected bills and acts which show clearly the aims of the Puritan party. For instance, An Act for the reformation of the Ministerie in the Church of England, An Act for the restitution of Christian discipline in the Churche of England (i. 304; ii. 1), and some others mostly drawn up about 1586 (ii. 4, 196, 198, 231, 232). Coupled with these are a number of supplications, requests, and petitions to the Queen, to Parliament, and to the Council (e.g. i. 75, 163; ii. 70, 208). These collective demands are reinforced by appeals from single persons or local groups, either of ministers or laymen. This great mass of evidence sets forth in detail, with an immense amount of repetition it is true, but with the greatest clearness and fulness, what the Puritan party wanted to effect and what their grievances and complaints were. As Dr Peel observes, this is "probably the most important collection of Puritan documents extant," and "while remembering that they are of an *ex parte* nature, and that it is impossible for the scientific historian to accept them indiscriminately, it is safe to say that no accurate account of the ecclesiastical history of the years 1570–1590 can be written without consulting them."

The complaints of the Puritans fall roughly into three classes: some concerned the ceremonies and doctrine of the

Church, others its government, a third class the character of the clergy.

To remove from the Church "the remnants, relics, and leavings of the Pope and papistry" was the first object: the two treatises by a Separatist summarised in vol. I. pp. 55–8, are a characteristic expression of this desire. The doctrines and teaching of foreign reformers were set up as the standard by which the Church was to be judged and its reformation completed. They appealed to Calvin, Bucer, and Beza. "John Calvin, one of the most singular men of God that hath bene since the Apostles time" (ii. 60); Martin Bucer, "that deep, learned, politique, and experienced souldiour in God's Church" (ii. 7); Theodore Beza, who declared that a church without discipline "is but a schoole of all wickedness and a licentious life" (i. 56). The ceremonies to which the Puritans objected were "badges, signes, and sacraments of Idolatry and Idolatrous priests," or, as another put it, "had theire beginning from the Divell and Antichrist whose implements and trappings they are" (i. 66, 79). The faults of the Book of Common Prayer are set forth in many documents, and a number of omissions and alterations demanded (e.g. i. 95, 211, 256; ii. 214). Because the Book "cast some light in a time of great darkness" it is not therefore to be imposed upon men for ever. For all Christians continued progress is necessary "that as the Lord may encrease our knowledge we may still be fashionyng of ourselves according to his worde &c." It is necessary for rulers too. "King Henry of famous memorie was made an instrument of God to banish the Pope, to overthrow these Caterpillars the Monks and the Friers, to set out the Bible in English, and to do manie other good things....And yet it were no reason that all princes following should take him as a paterne, and keepe thinges at the state he left them. King Edward, that blessed ympe, his sonne, went further and made a better reformation, to the comforte of all the godlie...and yet it is no reason that the Queene's Majesty now should maintaine those abuses that remaine" (i. 96). The drawback was that the Queen was not disposed to carry the work of reformation any further; she thought it had gone too far already. Elizabeth's backslidings

are set forth with the utmost frankness in "Mr Fuller's booke to the Queene," which was presented to her in 1586 (ii. 49).

The complaints of the government of the Church start from the same standpoint: it was a survival of the unreformed church. "The Lord Bishops, Deans, Chancellors, Commissaries and such like" are compendiously described as "the Popes bastards," and "the body of Antichrist" (i. 58; ii. 65). But later the demand for the complete abolition of bishops developed into the more moderate proposal for the limitation of their authority. Perhaps the fullest and most consecutive statement of the case of the Puritans against the existing system is the tract entitled "Certaine points concerning the pollicie and government of the Ecclesiastical State" (ii. 5). Another document of the same year, 1586, explains the nature of the courts of ministers and elders to which the Puritans desired to transfer the disciplinary jurisdiction of the existing spiritual courts (ii. 1).

More interesting to the average reader than these treatises are the "conferences" between various bishops and recalcitrant ministers, in which the human side of the conflict is brought out with singular vividness. Axton's discussion with the Bishop of Lichfield (i. 68), the Archbishop of Canterbury's with the Chichester ministers (i. 209), and the Bishop of Winchester's with John Edwin (i. 249), are good specimens. (See also ii. 221, 254.) By these questions and answers and the interchange of arguments the position of the two parties to the controversy is often stated more clearly and concisely than it is in lengthy controversial documents. Often, as their reports show, the bishops argued with the non-subscribing ministers with civility and kindness, but not always. "First," says one, speaking of the Bishop of Peterborough, "he endevored by faire speeches to draw me to subscribe, but not so prevaileinge, he used scoffes and taunts all that he could to disgrace mee," finally "calling mee princoxe" (i. 292). Another complains of the Bishop of London, "poseinge me very strangely in many odd pointes of Hebrue and greeke words with grammatical questioninge" (i. 246). "Thou art an arrogant puritane," said the Archbishop of York to a third, who answered that the name was "unjustly and uncharitably" given him. It is interesting to

note the repudiation of the name Puritan by those to whom modern writers would apply the term (i. 117, 119, 181, 231, 234; ii. 224).

Another long series of documents sets forth the complaint of the Puritans about the character of the parish clergy, their unfitness for their office, their idleness and worldliness, their ignorance and inability to preach. It begins with "a supplication to her Majestie in the third yeare of her raigne" (i. 50), and in 1586 a number of measures were proposed in the shape of drafts of Acts for Parliament to secure "the reformation of the Ministerie in the Church of England and for the supplyinge of the same with convenient and sufficient Ministers" (i. 304, cf. ii. 70, 196, 198). Undoubtedly, as Dr Peel says elsewhere, "the moral and intellectual tone of the clergy was low," but he is right in concluding that there was "some little improvement as the reign went on, though by 1603 nothing in the nature of a well equipped, well supported ministry had been obtained" (*English Historical Review*, 1911, p. 341). Nevertheless it was but a slight improvement. The complaints of the Elizabethan Puritans against "idol shepherds" and "dumb dogs" are echoed in the seventeenth century. Milton summarises them in *Lycidas* in his attack on "the corrupted clergy" of 1637:

> Such as for their bellies' sake
> Creep and intrude, and climb into the fold.
> Of other care they little reck'ning make
> Than how to scramble at the shearers' feast
> And shove away the worthy bidden guest.
> Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold
> A sheep-hook, or have learn'd aught else the least
> That to the faithful herdman's art belongs!
> What recks it them? What need they? They are sped;
> And when they list, their lean and flashy songs
> Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw,
> The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed,
> But swoln with wind, and the rank mist they draw,
> Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread:
> Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
> Daily devours apace, and nothing said.

The whole passage might be annotated from Dr Peel's documents. Milton insists on the importance of preaching

just as the Elizabethan Puritans did: the metaphor of the shepherd and his flock was always in their mouths. How came you to be parson of Moreton Corbett? says a Bishop to a minister. "I am no parson" is his answer. "What are you? Vicar" asks the Bishop. "No," says he, "I am no vicar. I abhor their names as Anti-christian. I am pastor of the congregation there" (i. 71). In another case a congregation, appealing to their minister to come back to them, describe him as "our shepherd to feed us with the spiritual food," and sign themselves "your hungrie sheep" (i. 274). The "grim wolf" would have needed no explaining to sixteenth century readers. The "General Supplication" made to Parliament in 1586 speaks of the "Jesuits, Seminaries, and other priests, as grievous and hungrie wolves entring in among us, and finding us in a great part as sheepe without shepheards, spoile and carie awaie at their pleasure the flocke of Christ" (ii. 72, cf. ii. 177).

To prove their case, the Puritan leaders compiled annotated lists of the clergy in various counties, distinguishing between those fit for their office and capable of preaching and those disqualified by ignorance, idleness or immorality. "How true this our complaint is maie appeare by notes of the surveies herunto annexed of some shiers and countries, even some of the best, wherby the rest maie be esteemed" (ii. 77). Eleven counties and the city and archdeaconry of London are thus catalogued: Cornwall, Lincoln (Lindsey only), Rutland, Oxford, Berks, Bucks, Middlesex, Surrey, Norfolk, Essex, and Warwick. The lists contain 2537 parishes, in which there were 472 "preachers" and 1773 "no preachers": amongst the clergy about 353 were noted as non-resident and about 467 as double beneficed. The lists will be of value to local historians from the personal information they contain. Of one it is noted: "He by misdemeanor spoiled his patrimonie, became a minstrel, and for refuge a minister." Another "was a painter and an Interlude plaier." After two are the words "a conjurer suspected." Mr John Beale, of Juxta Foye, deserves special mention: he was "the best Wrastler in Cornwall." After many Warwickshire names there is the note "he was a popish

priest." Of one of these, John Frith, vicar of Grafton, it is added "he can neither preach nor read well, his chiefest trade is to cure hawks that are hurt or diseased, for which purpose many do usuallie repaire to him." Anyone undertaking to write an account of the Warwickshire clergy in Shakespeare's time would find the materials here. Stratford-on-Avon was more fortunate than most places: its minister was "learned, zealous and godlie...a happy age if our church were fraight with manie such." The information which these lists supply is, of course, prejudiced and partial; there are surveys made for the bishops which would no doubt present a more favourable view both of individuals and of the clergy as a whole, but they are not accessible in print for the purpose of comparison. However, Bishop Hooper's Visitation of Gloucester in 1551, which Dr James Gairdner printed in the *English Historical Review* for 1904, shows that most of the clergy in that diocese were ignorant, and some excessively ignorant. There is no reason to suppose that those of other dioceses were any better, and the revolutions through which the Church passed after 1551 were not calculated to increase the learning and efficiency of the clergy. Puritans and Bishops alike aimed at raising the standard, by different methods, and each with some success, though the process was a slow one.

Though one would not accept as gospel any Puritan's account of an opponent, sometimes a character is so vividly drawn that it seems to present the real man. Giles Wigginton describes his enemy Edward Hampton as "a prophane shameless, unlearned, and furious fellow." At Cambridge he spent his time "very unthriftely, with roysters and alehouses, etc., so that he was called lustie Hampton" (as Justice Shallow was when he was at Clement's Inn). Hampton boasted "that he had never broken his braine about study, but had bene good at a sword and buckler." His dress was more appropriate to his character than his profession. "He goeth up and downe dailye, like a swashbuckler and royster, with a narrow brimmed hatte, with crosse garters, great ruffes, a paunch bellied coate, and other such like unseemely apparell for his calleinge, and so setteth up and downe, not onely in the high wayes and

alehouses, but also in the church yarde and church, keepeinge companye with the vilest persons and most notorious sinners" (ii. 251). The account of the quarrel between Knight and Stevens for the possession of the pulpit in Palgrave church in Suffolk, is another vivid scene.

These documents are not merely materials for ecclesiastical history: they contain a large number of words and phrases interesting to the literary historian, much that will be of use to the social historian, and incidentally much miscellaneous information of interest. One of the acts of Mr Minge, at Ashford, in Kent, was "to deface a monument of superstition, to put away a font-case, coloured, guilded and pictured story-like with the seven popish sacraments, the Bishop giving holy orders and confirming children, the priest saying masse and christening, with exorcismes, marryinge, shriving and annealing, as thei call it, these things being slubbered over with a white wash that in an houre may be undone, standing like a Dianaes shrine for a future hope and daily comforte of old popish beldames and young perking papists, and a great offence to all that are christianly minded" (i. 239). A Chichester Puritan complains in 1586 that "In the Cathedrall Church, there standeth the passion of Christ (as it is called) even whole, saving that about two or three yeres past, it was wasshed over with some white colours; but since that time some well wishers of that waie (as there are too manie) have taken some paines that it is allmost as bright as ever it was" (ii. 191). The Queen herself was reminded that the walls and windows of the royal chapels were filled with images and pictures, and admonished to see them "cleansed and purged away" (ii. 53).

There are a number of references to the Universities. One Puritan proposed that they should be entirely devoted to training ministers, or at least the chief colleges, and "that the students should be prevented from spending so much time in other vaine and unprofitable studies as commonly thei do" (i. 169). A scheme for their training, drawn up by Chaderton (afterwards first master of Emmanuel), included however Rhetoric, Logic and Greek and Latin history, as well as knowledge of the tongues (i. 134). It was estimated in 1586

that there were 194 men at Oxford and over 140 at Cambridge fit to hold livings, but unprovided for (ii. 199). A "Supplication of some of the Students of the Universitie of Cambridge to Parliament" in 1586, says: "It cannot be denied but this our Universitie doth flourish at this present in all kind of good literature as much as at any time heretofore... yet it cannot be denied likewise but that this part of us which have chosen the studie of the Sacred Scriptures and have prepared ourselves for the holie ministerie do find lesse lawfull entrance into the Church of God and preferment for our labours than in former times."... "Unlearned ministers, the verie scumme of the people" obtain livings. "If we ourselves use some meanes to have entrance to a charge the covetousness of patrons is such, and so insatiable for the most part, that there is no waie by them but by simonie, perjurie, and afterwards almost plaine beggerie" (ii. 186).

Another curious document is Wigginton's account of his differences with Whitgift when he was a scholar under him at Trinity. Having to reprove him for a small breach of discipline, Whitgift refused to hear his excuses, and said he would use "shorter arguments with me, meaninge the rodd." Other "petty brabling matters" concerning college discipline are mentioned to prove that the Archbishop had been Wigginton's enemy from his youth up, and was not fit to be his judge (ii. 241).

The details about Queen Elizabeth given by William Fuller are curious. He rebuked her for swearing, "Your gratious Majesty in your anger hath used to sweare, some time by that abhominable idoll the Masse, and often and grievouslie by God, and by Christ, and by manie parts of his glorified bodie, and by Saints, faith, troth, and other forbidden things"; and "by your Majesty's evill example and sufferance, the most part of your subjects and people of everie degree, do commonlie sweare and blaspheme" (ii. 54).

The Queen's hostility to the Puritan movement in all its aspects was so clear that it needs no proving. "I will tell you what the Queene's Majestie saide, that these puritans were greater ennemies to hir than the papists," the Archbishop of York remarked to John Wilson in 1587 (ii. 224).

The question of the extent to which the Puritan movement was supported by the nation is one which is often discussed and more difficult to determine. To represent it as an entirely clerical movement is going too far, but it is evident that it had no very wide or strong popular support. It was not till the seventeenth century that it became a national movement, and its development into one then was due to political rather than religious reasons. The lists of non-subscribing clergy and preachers printed by Dr Peel show that the Puritans were strong in particular centres and districts, but they were weak elsewhere, and the gradual spread of their influence beyond its original limits has not been exactly traced. The documents printed here show that in Elizabeth's time a few of the nobility were favourable to them. The Earl of Leicester for instance "procured the libertie and restoring againe of sundrie learned and painfull preachers to their places that were dismissed" (i. 135). He said "it was a pitifull thing that so many of the best mynisters and painfull in their preching, stood to be deprived for these things" (i. 282). Burghley more than once intervened in their favour (i. 143; ii. 207); Sir Walter Mildmay (ii. 58, 240), Sir Nicholas Bacon (i. 163), and some other noblemen and officials were their friends. There are also petitions from the gentlemen of Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire on behalf of their ministers (i. 48, 225, 230; ii. 191). There are petitions also from a number of places in Essex (ii. 187—192), from London (ii. 219), of the same nature. It is evident that there was a widespread feeling that good ministers and effective preachers ought not to be deprived of their livings for nonconformity in points of ritual and ceremonial or non-subscription. On the other hand it is probable that many congregations were prepared to submit to a rite or a vestment they disliked rather than lose a good preacher, and thought their ministers over-scrupulous. "It is one great grief that your mouth is shut up," wrote the inhabitants of Leigh in Essex to Mr William Negus. "Wee do also understand that your libertie maye be redeemed only by wearinge the surplice at some times, and that you shall not be urged any further. It is a thing which we wrote with all our harts, if it pleased

God and our prince, were removed. But yet we take yt not to be a matter of such weighte, as that to the hazard of our souls and losse of our spiritual comforte, the not wearinge of yt should deprive us of your ministerye, for then we looke to have such an one thrust upon us, that we shall be constrained to beare with greater things than the surplice, and want our godly instruction" (i. 275).

Apart from this letter and the petitions of various congregations on behalf of their ministers these volumes contain little evidence as to the attitude of the people towards the Puritan movement. Incidentally there are occasional indications of their feelings. For instance, in a document referring to the suppression of the "Prophesyings," it is stated "that poore vulgar people, whome it was fitter to have bene at their labours and occupations, leaving their ordinarie parishes, resorted thither from places farre distante, to heare matters and points of divinitie disputed and decided" (i. 153). These were exceptions: the labourers and artizans who formed the mass of the nation were no doubt correctly described as "simple and ignorant people, which as yet both old and younge remaine in most places without all knowledge of the grounds and principles of Christian religion" (i. 154). Quarrels about doctrine or ceremonies or church government were over their heads and did not touch them. There is some evidence that the Puritans thought of appealing to the nation for support as well as to Parliament. There are three pieces of verse, written apparently about 1584, to set forth the case of the Puritans against the rulers of the Church. One is entitled "An humble supplication to our Sovereigne Queene Elizabeth" (i. 267–9) in which her "poore subjects" complain that they are almost famished for want of "the food of life, God's word," because the Bishops thrust out good preachers. The second, "The renewing of the Crie of the poore to the Parliament," develops the same theme (i. 269–70). The third, "A view of the Bishops' extreme proceedings against their brethren the godly and painfull prechers throughout the whole Realme for trifles" (i. 271–4), is more argumentative, attacks the Bishops for engrossing so many livings in their own hands, and demands the revision of the

Prayer Book and the establishment of Discipline "according to God's holy lawes" (i. 271–4). These were clearly meant to be printed as broadsides and sold for popular consumption, but there is no evidence that they ever were so printed. Elizabethan ballads are a source of information as to the ideas of the masses which historians have too much neglected, probably because they have never been collected, and must be sought for in many different books. Many of them deal with moral and religious subjects; there are rhymed versions of most Scriptural stories, and a large number of ballads against the Pope and the Papists. There is one, published in 1564, entitled "The re-edifying of Solomon's Temple and the Laborers thereof," in praise of Parker, Horne, Sampson and other bishops and divines, who took a leading part in the Elizabethan settlement of the Church. There is another, published in 1572, entitled "Daniel's siftyng in these our dayes: aptly applied to the true Preachers of the Gospell" (Collman, *Ballads and Broadsides of the Elizabethan period now at Britwell Court*, 1912).

But there are practically no ballads which testify to any popular interest in the struggle between the Puritans and the Bishops, or any sympathy with the former. The world-wide conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism overshadowed in the eyes of the people the minor domestic conflicts amongst English Protestants. Opposition to the existing system of Church government did not, I think, find expression in ballads till the seventeenth century. There are two extant ballads directed against the Church Courts, both written in the reign of James I. One is "A new Ballad of the Parrator and the Divell" (*Shirburn Ballads*, p. 306): the other is "A Citation sent to To-Bad the Pariter" (*10th Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, IV. 491). Ballads against the Bishops begin in the next reign, about 1637. The value of negative evidence of this kind must not be over-estimated, but it helps to fix the limits of the sphere of influence of Puritanism during the earlier stages of the movement.

C. H. FIRTH.

October 1915

PREFATORY NOTE

THE purpose of this work is to draw attention and facilitate reference to the earliest—and probably the most important—collection of Puritan manuscripts extant.

The manuscripts speak for themselves, and it is unnecessary to say anything here about their nature or contents. For a long period students of Elizabethan ecclesiastical history have desired a Calendar; now an attempt is made to meet the need.

Of imperfections in the work one is only too conscious; often reasons of space have compelled a brief and unworthy summary of items which one would have liked to print in full; often laboriously compiled references—valuable for the general reader, but superfluous for the scholars for whose use the Calendar is intended—have had to be omitted; occasionally all efforts to trace allusions have failed.

Nevertheless, if the Calendar but saves time for hard-pressed workers, and leads students to what the Puritans themselves say, rather than to what others, be they friends or enemies, say about them, it will serve its purpose.

It should be added that much care has been expended on the Indexes, in order that they might be of use to local antiquaries, as well as exhaustive for more general workers.

My thanks are due to numerous scholars and friends who have helped me, thanks sincerely felt to many who are unnamed as to those now mentioned. To Professor A. J. Grant, of the University of Leeds, who first taught me the meaning of history

I owe much, as I do also to Professor C. H. Firth, of Oxford, who has not only guided me by his sound judgment and wide learning, but also contributed a Preface to the work.

Rev. W. Pierce and Rev. T. G. Crippen—familiar names to all interested in the early history of Nonconformity—have always been ready to assist me when I have found it necessary to appeal to them; Dr W. A. Shaw, of the Record Office, very kindly placed at my disposal many transcripts he had made from the "Register"; Rev. W. Beresford, of Leek, gave generous help to a complete stranger in inquiries concerning Morrice's abode in Staffordshire.

I have also to thank Rev. F. H. Jones, ex-Librarian of Dr Williams's Library, together with the staff of the Library, for courteous attention and for patience with a student who has been a constant source of trouble to them for some years.

Finally I am indebted to Dr Williams's Trustees for permission to print these manuscripts, and to the Hibbert Trustees for support in the publication.

ALBERT PEEL.

Great Harwood,
Lancashire.
1 *May*, 1915.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

I. 1, note 2, l. 6. For "Bishop of Bristol" read "Dr G. F. Browne, late Bishop of Bristol."

I. 12, note 2. Add:

"Until recently Bancroft's statement that 'A parte of a register' was printed by Waldegrave in Scotland has always been accepted without question. In October 1910, however, a paper (reprinted separately in 1912 under the title *Richard Schilders and the English Puritans*), was read before the Bibliographical Society by Mr J. Dover Wilson, in which it was contended that the actual printer of the work was Schilders and not Waldegrave. Basing his arguments on the similarity between the types, ornaments, &c. used in 'A parte of a register' and in works admittedly printed by Schilders, Mr Dover Wilson makes out a strong case, and his arguments are deserving of very careful consideration. The present writer hopes to go into the whole matter fully in the introduction to a reprint of 'A parte of a register.'"

I. 19, note 4. *Catalogue* should be in Roman type.

I. 52, l. 14. For "Broklesly" read "Broklesby."

I. 56, note 2 should be in italics.

I. 87, note, l. 4. For *Reprints* read *Transcripts*.

I. 129, l. 5. After "lines" add "They are practically identical with Mr Browne's Ten Questions (above, I. 62)."

I. 154, note. *Register* should be in Roman type.

I. 245, l. 2. Add: "The extract is printed in full in Browne, *History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*, 605."

II. 20. Note 1 should read: "i.e. 'too too,' that is, 'exceedingly apparent.' Cf. *Hamlet*, Act I. Sc. II. l. 128:

'O that this too too solid flesh would melt,'

and the notes on this passage in the New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare (*Hamlet*, Vol. I. p. 41)." I am indebted to Professor Firth for this correction.

II. 59, note. Add: "i.e. *How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their Subjects &c.*"

II. 111, 4th line from bottom. After "Binghain" add "[? Bingham]."

II. 123, 2nd line from bottom. Add a note to "Silke":

"Probably this should read

Silke Willoughbie Hughe [Tuke], p., suspended."

II. 159, l. 11 from bottom. Add note to "St Nicholas," reading:

"This and the following four churches are in Colchester."

II. 170, l. 6. After "Lancashier" add "[*sic*, Leicestershire]."

INTRODUCTION

THE manuscripts here calendared form part of the Morrice collection of manuscripts in the Dr Williams's Library, Gordon Sq., London. Very little is known of Roger Morrice, who made the collection in the 17th century, and the few details which come from scanty references to him fail to give more than a very bare outline of his life.

Roger Morrice was born in 1628, and died on Jan. 17th, 1701/2[1]. He was a graduate of St Catharine's College (then Hall), Cambridge[2], and afterwards he became chaplain in turn to Denzil, Lord Holles[3], and Sir John Maynard[4].

[1] The Inscription on his tombstone in Bunhill Fields [quoted in "Transcript," p. 5, and Calamy, *Contin. of the Account* (1727, I. 231)] reads:

"Here lyeth the Body of Mr Roger Morrice, M.A., and Chaplain to the late Honourable Denzil, Lord Hollis, who departed this life the 17th day of January, 1701, Aetat. 73."

See also *Bunhill Memorials* [ed. J. A. Jones, 1849, p. 177] and a recent investigation into the graveyard at Bunhill Fields, in *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.* (1910).

[2] Morrice MS. W is a life of Thomas Bentham, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1560—79) by Morrice. On p. 26 is the endorsement, "Per Rogerum Morrice, St^{ae} Aulae Kath. Cant. Artium Mag^{rum} Maii 11, 1664."

The entry books of the Hall were carelessly kept at this time, and the record of entries is very meagre. The name Morrice occurs, but under the year 1654, too late for Roger. [I am indebted to the Bishop of Bristol and to the Tutor of St Catharine's (Rev. W. T. Southward), for information on this point.]

[3] 1599–1680. See *D.N.B.*

[4] 1602–90. See *D.N.B.* Calamy [*Account of the Ejected Ministers* (1713, II. 166–7)] thus refers to Morrice:

"Duffield. Mr Roger Morrice. Who was sometime Chaplain to my Lord Hollis and afterwards to Sir John Maynard. He dy'd at Hoxton in Middlesex, Jan. 17, 1701. He hath left behind him a valuable Collection

On Sept. 11th, 1658, he became vicar of Duffield in Derbyshire, "and there remained till Aug. 24th, 1662[1]." His name occurs under Duffield in two manuscript lists of ejected ministers in his own collection[2], and also in Calamy's *Account*[3].

It seems almost certain that, after his ejection (?chaplaincies), Morrice ceased ministerial work and became a merchant[4] in London, retiring later in life to "Leek Firth, in the parish of Leek, Staffordshire[5]." During this part of his life, he seems to

of Manuscripts. Which cost him a great deal of Time, and Pains, and Money."

In the *Contin. of the Account*, Calamy adds Morrice's degree, the inscription on his grave, and a quotation from Strype. Walker [Bod. MSS. c. 7, f. 21 b] can "find no more than that his epitaph tells us, he was Master of Arts, and chaplain to the late Denzil, Lord Hollis, but at what time whether before or after the Restoration is not mentioned, but that he died 17 Jan. 1701, aetat. 73." It seems very probable that the chaplaincies were subsequent to the ejection in 1662.

[1] Duffield Parish Registers. See the Rev. J. C. Cox's *Churches of Derbyshire*, under Duffield.

[2] V. I. 21 and V. II. 15, headed respectively:

"A list of names of all the Nonconformists in England ejected by Act of Parliament on the 24th of August 1662," and, "Ministers, publick preachers, and candidates made uncapable of preaching since 24th Aug. 1662." Perhaps these lists are the two to which Calamy refers in the preface to the *Account* He has obtained four lists of ejected ministers, he says,—"two I received from the laborious Mr Roger Morrice" (ed. 1713, II. p. v).

[3] Cf. p. 1, notes 1, 4.

[4] Possibly he is thinking of his own case in the reference to men who leave the ministry in the codicil to his will (in italics in the quotation in note 2, p. 3 below).

[5] So his will at Somerset House describes his residence. In the will he makes these bequests among others:

(i) £100 to be expended in the purchase of land, the annual income of which is to be paid, half to the master of Marbrook School for the instruction of eight poor children, half for the purchase of Bibles for the poor of that parish. If there should be no schoolmaster at Marbrook, the first moiety is to be used for the purchase of Bibles for the poor of Leek and Leek Firth.

The present church at Marbrook (Meerbrook) has a board with the following inscription, copied from older tablets which are still remembered by older inhabitants:

"Mr Roger Morris, of London, *Merchant*, gave the sum of £100 to

have given much attention to the training of students for the ministry. Nor did his care for their interests cease with his life, for his will directs that many of his books should be given to them[1], and that the residue of his estate should be used for the maintenance of young and promising scholars[2].

be laid out in land, the one moiety thereof to the schoolmaster, the other moiety to buy Bibles for the poor of Leekfrith or Leek parish."

Confirmation of this may be seen in the Parliamentary *Further Report of the Commission for Inquiring concerning Charities, Stafford* [Vol. XXXI. (1815–39), p. 394]. Bibles, with the letters R. M. stamped on the covers, are still given away every year at Meerbrook on the Tuesday before Christmas.

(ii) £20 to Josiah Hargrave, minister of Westwood, (or his successor), provided he shall have continued to preach at Westwood or in the surrounding moorlands for two years after the testator's decease.

Westwood is in the neighbourhood of Leek, where Josiah Hargreaves became the first Congregational minister before 1695.

[1] Cf. with his will, the present writer's article in *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.* (1912).

[2] Part of the codicil reads :

"I, having for more than twenty years dilligently enquired after and chosen out young students of pregnant naturall parts and strength of reason, of pious dispositions, well principled in matters of religion, and throughly instructed in Gramar [*sic*] learning, phylology, and the languages, especially in Greek and Hebrew, and also that have made a laudable entrance into the study of phylosophy and the knowledge of the arts and sciences most necessary for a divine, and also given hopefull indicacon that [they] will apply themselves to sever[e] study in order to the dispensation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, severall scores of these (to speak modestly) by the generous and liberall assistance of my private friends I have maintained wholly or for the greatest part four or five years in the pursuit of the learning before menconed. And God hath been graciously pleased to bless my endeavours very signally, for of this number some of them are eminent ministers in the church of God, and close students, and others of them very affectionate, lively, prudent preachers.

Not any three of them have left of [*f*] *his profession and calling and betaken themselves to any other* (*which yet I conceive in severall cases may be done without sin*), nor deserted their principles or denominacon (which may lawfully and ought to be done if, after they have throughly and impartially studyed the controversies, and by fervent prayers sought Gods direction, they become fully perswaded in their judgment and conscience that that is most pleasing to God). Nor (which is inexpressibly

These facts constitute our entire knowledge of Morrice's life. Possibly further details are to be found in three volumes left by him[1], catalogued as

"R.M.'s Entry Books or Historical Collections relating to his own time, things which he had to do with &c., much written by himself in shorthand for the sake of privacy,"

but so far an examination of these has revealed nothing of a personal nature.

Morrice's importance, however, lies not in his person, but in the "valuable collection of Manuscripts, which cost him...Time, and Pains, and Money[2]."

Probably his position as chaplain to Lord Holles gave him

of far more regard and consideracon) appostatised [*sic*] from the profession and practice of Evangelicall Christianity, nor blemished by any open immorality that I have heard of upon a just (not to say a strict) enquiry.

Item, for the residue of my estate, if any remain, my will and appointment is that my executors do carefully find out four or more young students qualified as abovesaid, who have for four or five, or at le[a]st for three years past, been instructed in the said arts and sciences and other learning so necessary for a workman that needeth not be ashamed under some learned and pious tutor or tutors, and made considerable progress therein, and after the said three, four, or five years are expired, and before they are ordained or have taken any charge of any congregacon, and that my executors do give and pay to each of them twenty pounds a year a piece for two years to suport [*sic*] and maintain them under some learned and pious tutor or instructer [*sic*] in pursuance of such studies as are proper and necessary (by the blessing of God) to make them learned and able ministers of his Gospel.

If [I] have not nominated and appointed the first four young students in this my last will, or by other writing under my hand, then I desire my executors without delay after my decease to find out four such young students, and pay unto them the said sumes of twenty pounds a piece as aforesaid."

[1] Morrice MSS. Vols. P, Q, R. A fourth volume, S, is an index to P, Q, R. These volumes relate to the years 1677—91, and are probably referred to in the clause of Morrice's will which directs that all his manuscripts "in character"—which he has not been able to transcribe, and which are generally unintelligible—should be burned, unless he shall have previously so destroyed them.

[2] Calamy (cf. p. 1, note 4).

exceptional opportunities[1] for the acquisition and transcription of documents, but, be that as it may, he became well known in the historical world for his knowledge of ecclesiastical history[2].

John Strype himself—of whom Neal said[3] that he had "searched into the records of the English reformation more than any man of his age"—owed not a little to Morrice, and often acknowledged his indebtedness[4].

In the preface to his *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (1721), he mentioned "Mr Roger Morrice, a minister, deceased," among those who had given him assistance by the communication of "choice papers." Four years later[5], in the *Annals*, he wrote:

"I have been assured so from a very careful Enquirer (Mr Roger Morrice) after such matters, who told me that he had read it in a very Authentick Paper, carrying so much evidence with it that he did not in the least misdoubt it."

The most valuable reference of all, however, is contained in his edition[6] of Stow's *Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, where he thus described Morrice:

"This gentleman was a very diligent collector of ecclesiastical MSS. relating to the later history of the English Church, whereof he left vast heaps behind him, and who favoured me with his correspondence."

[1] Compare the case of William Taylor, mentioned by Calamy on the same page as that author refers to the lists he received from Morrice [*Account*, II. p. v].

"One (list) was Collected with great Industry and Application by the Rev. William Taylor, late of Newbery, who *while Chaplain to the late Lord Wharton*, had a Correspondence in most parts of England, in pursuit of this design...."

[2] The names in the concluding paragraph of Morrice's will give some indication of his position. He desires to be buried in Bunhill Fields, and that the following ministers be requested to act as pall-bearers: Vincent Alsop, Mr Griffith, Mr Hammond, Mr How, John Spateman, and Daniel Williams. If any of these should be deceased, their places should be filled from a second six, viz. E. Calamy, Mr Oldfield, Timothy Rogers, John Shower, Matthew Sylvester, and Mr Stancliff.

[3] Preface to the 1st ed. of the *History of the Puritans* [ed. 1822, p. xv].

[4] Cf. the codicil to Morrice's will, which makes a contingent bequest "to Mr John Strype and Mrs [ ] Strype, his wife, and their two children."

[5] Fol. ed. of 1725, I. 251.

[6] II. 57.

From such a source[1] this testimony is very striking, but the "vast heaps" of manuscripts still remain to show that it was very well deserved.

In addition to the volumes dealt with in this Calendar are the following, to mention some of the most important[2]:

Remarks on History, 1546—1640, *with a continuation to* 1678.
Chronology of Eminent Persons, 1534–95.
R.M.'s First Sketch of His Political Ecclesiastical History of England.
List of Monasteries, 1534.
List of the English exiles at Frankfort and other cities abroad, with notes of their worship and discipline.
Proceedings under the Act of Uniformity, 1559.
Proceedings against Cartwright, &c., 1590.
Letters of Sir Francis Walsingham.
Lists of Ejected Ministers, 1662.
List of Ministers settled in New England, 1630–70.
Bishop Hooper's Visitation[3] *of Gloucester in* 1551.
Surveys of the Clergy of Cornwall and Staffordshire[4].
Catalogue of Richard Baxter's books.
Three catalogues of Morrice's own library[5] (the third, dated July 2nd, 1698, compiled by an amanuensis, and corrected by Morrice).

[1] Cf. Preface to *Annals*, Jan. 1724/5 [ed. 1824, p. xii]. Speaking of documents used by him, he says: "They are authentic, having been transcribed from the originals (extant in the library of that church, i.e. Zurich) divers years ago by Daillée, a French refugee, and communicated to me by Mr Roger Morice, who had employed the said learned man to write them out...."

[Daillée's colophon has the date Mar. 1st, 1689/90.]

[2] In 1858 Mr W. H. Black, the Librarian of Dr Williams's Library, prepared a catalogue of the Morrice MSS. in the Library, and this facilitates reference somewhat. See also *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* III. 365–8.

[3] Printed in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.* Jan. 1904, with introduction and notes by Dr J. Gairdner.

[4] Printed in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.* Apl 1911, with introduction and notes by the present writer.

[5] A glance through these catalogues shows what a thorough student Morrice was, for a large portion of the controversial literature of Elizabeth's reign found a place on his shelves. It would be interesting to learn the fate of these volumes. Perhaps they found their way into the Dr Williams's Library in company with the manuscripts, for the Library is especially rich in Puritan literature. See also below, pp. 19–20.

Evidently Morrice's intention was to write a history of the Reformation in England, but apparently he never got beyond the foundations, foundations on which Strype, Neal, and others were to build imposing structures.

The manuscripts here calendared are contained in three volumes (A, B, and C of the collection). Failure to realise the nature of the contents of these volumes has led many students astray, and resulted, not only in striking conjectures as to the existence of originals, but also in a terminology of reference to the manuscripts as involved as it is misleading.

The three volumes may be described[1] as follows:

1. *The original "Seconde Parte of a Register*[2]*"* (B in the Morrice collection).

This is a very thick parchment bound volume, containing about 570 leaves, 1140 pages. It really consists of two volumes bound together, the first being numbered in pages (632), the second in leaves only (245). Inserted between the two volumes is a contents list referring to both parts, and also the fragment of another contents list (apparently of the second part only)[3].

At the end of the volume is a shorthand note which has not yet been deciphered, but bearing the date "Sept. 1691." Prefixed to the whole volume is a fairly accurate and complete list of contents, with references to Neal's *History*—and therefore made subsequent to 1732.

The articles (91) in the first part are in the same 16th century handwriting, and are very easy to read. Some attempt at arrangement seems to have been made, articles written by the same person, or concerning the same individual, county, or diocese, being placed together. In the second part the items (80) are in many different 16th century hands—some of them

[1] See Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England* [1875, 245–50] for the only attempt that has been made—a very good one—to describe the volumes.

[2] The use of this name should be reserved for this volume only. Some writers have employed it to describe the "Transcript" volume (No. 3 below), and this has led to much confusion.

[3] These lists are valuable in that they refer to missing articles, and help to identify some articles which appear without name, title, or heading.

difficult—and it is probable that a few of them are originals. They are more miscellaneous than those in the first part, and there seems to have been no effort to place them in order—chronological or otherwise—the only trace of arrangement being the fact that many *personal* items are contiguous.

Morrice left two descriptions of this volume. In the first[1] he describes it as:

"A very large thick folio of choice collections, ecclesiastical and political, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and also of many originals, manuscripts, and letters during the said reign, by a most faithful, understanding, and observing gentleman who died about the end of it."

The second account[2] of the manuscripts in the volume reads:

"They treat of transactions in the Queen's reign, and were writ therein. They're very fair and free from any interlineations. They're in my possession. They contain the copies of divers bills which were presented, debated or passed in divers Parliaments, and of others drawn up to be presented; and of divers original letters, and of the proceedings against divers persons, written by themselves or persons that were earwitnesses thereof, while they were fresh in their memory, or taken out of the Registers of the said Courts; and of many other considerable matters not in print. They seem to be as worthy of credit as anything we have relating to that reign. I have in many instances compared them with the best and truest accounts we have of ecclesiastical matters in that Queen's time, and find them exactly agreeing with, and sometimes perfecting those."

The "Seconde Parte of a Register," then, is a collection of manuscripts, some of them being originals, but the majority copies made towards the end of Elizabeth's reign[3].

2. *The "Loose Papers" volume* (A in the Morrice collection). A volume of folio size, having about 650 pages[4], bound together under the title, "The Puritan Controversy."

[1] "Transcript," p. 9, quoted from "The Brief Specimen of the Designed History" (MS.) a single sheet (now missing).

[2] "Transcript," p. 4, from Morrice's "largest parchment covered fol. p. 126, 1561," which does not appear to be in the Library at present. Lorimer prints this quotation (p. 248), but with several mistakes.

[3] Cf. the opinions of authorities consulted by Lorimer (p. 250). For the purpose for which the collection was made, see below, pp. 10–18.

[4] Pagination very awkward, differing at top and bottom, and with many erasures.

This volume is also in two parts, known as the "Old Loose Papers" and the "New Loose Papers" respectively.

The "Old Loose Papers" (53 items, 207 leaves) are in different Elizabethan hands of varying legibility, and no doubt some of them are originals. They are of the same nature as the manuscripts in No. 1, but there is no pretence of arrangement.

The "New Loose Papers" (39 items, 236 pages) consist, in the main, of late 17th century copies of the "Old Loose Papers," somewhat carelessly made, but there are one or two new items[1], and several pages of extracts from the "Old Loose Papers." Again several lists of contents[2] are inserted, and in these several articles are given which do not appear in the volume.

3. *The "Transcript" volume* (C in the Morrice collection).

A very thick volume, larger than folio, containing 970 pages (the last 72 of which are blank), and 238 items. This is the volume used[3] by Neal and Brook and practically all other writers who have referred to these manuscripts, and often quoted as the "MS Register" or "The Seconde Parte of a Register[4]." At the beginning it has this title and description:

"A Copy of...The Second Parte of a Register.
Transcribed from 1. An Old Book Bound in Parchment...in 2 vol. which is the original Second Part of a Register.
2. MSS. Loose Papers[5], viz.
Old Ones, viz. with pages marked at bottom.
New Ones, or several of the old Transcribed Fair, but not Bound, containing 227 pages.
3. Private MSS.[6], from pp. 873–95.
N.B. Besides which there are some law cases from Dyer's Reports[7], &c. 867–71."

[1] Especially valuable are those on pp. 118–22, which are transcripts from missing pages (143–51) of the "Old Loose Papers."

[2] Two of them give: (i) Papers in "Old Loose Papers," not transcribed in "New Loose Papers." (ii) Papers in "Old Loose Papers" not transcribed in "New Loose Papers," but printed in "A parte of a register" [below, pp. 12, 30–3].

[3] Below, pp. 20–4.

[4] In the present work, it is always called the "Transcript."

[5] Now bound together, No. 2 above.

[6] A list of these copies of letters is given on a loose sheet in the "Transcript." See below, Nos. 11–22, 24, 26, 27.

[7] Below, Nos. 250–7.

This volume, therefore, consists of transcripts of most of the manuscripts in Nos. 1 and 2 and of certain private letters. The transcripts were made late in the 17th century, probably by Roger Morrice's amanuensis. They are easy to read, but they are not very accurate, and all careful workers will turn to Nos. 1 and 2. Prefixed to the actual transcripts, in addition to the quotations given above, are the following:

1. A copy of the inscription on Morrice's tombstone.
2. A list of the references made to the volume by Neal (78 in number).
3. A number of references to words and phrases within the volume, which some student (probably Neal) had been unable to read.

Most of the mystery which has surrounded the volumes disappears when their respective contents are understood. It is because writers have known the "Transcript" only, or have tried to weave theories round faulty statements made by Neal, that difficulty has arisen.

It now remains to examine the history of the volumes whose contents have just been described. In the first place we must attempt to answer the question, "Who gathered together the documents in the 'Seconde Parte of a Register,' and for what purpose?"

The reply is evident to students of early Puritanism, and the very name is suggestive—"second" implies a "first." The strict censorship of the press established after the publication of the *Admonition to the Parliament* in 1572, and more rigorously executed after the flood of Puritan literature in the years 1583–6, made it increasingly difficult for the Puritans to place their cause before the country.

Foiled, however, in Convocation, in the "prophesyings," and in Parliament alike, the supporters of "the discipline and true reformation" had only the press and personal influence to fall back upon for the dissemination of their views, and that secret printing was not altogether impossible was constantly being proved from the time of John Strowd[1] to that of Martin Marprelate and his lusty sons.

[1] Below, Nos. 66–7.

The Puritans, therefore—and by these one may suppose the Puritan ministers gathered together in the classes[1]—seem to have determined to give forth to the world their apologia, and to that end treatises on church government, confessions of faith, surveys of the clergy, accounts of the examination of ministers before High Commissioners and Bishops, petitions to Queen, Council, Parliament, and Convocation, &c., &c., were collected.

Bancroft[2] thus describes the process and its results:

"They (our reformers in England) have renewed over again and applied to our Church Governors, Two or Three of the most bitter Treatises, that ever were made against the Popes, Cardinals, Popish Bishops, Monks and Fryers &c. in King Henry the VIII's Days. They have Four or Five very devilish and infamous Dialogues: likewise their Complaints and Petitions to her Majesty and Parliament, in the name of the Commonalty, their Appellation, their Exhortation, and divers other most lewd and scurrilous Epistles and Letters.

When they are called before any Magistrate, and dealt withal for their factious Proceedings they usually afterward do take upon them to *Write and Publish, under the Name of a Conference, what words and Arguments have passed*, which they perform with all Reproach, Disdain, Untruth, and Vanity: And so do pester the Realm and their Favourers Closets, with infinite such shameless and slanderous Discourses, as is most intolerable.

They have had *Five or Six Supplications to Several Parliaments*, penned altogether according to Knox his Stile and violent Spirit, in many places word for word: Besides Martin and his Two Sons, their holy Imitations of Beza his Passavantius (that all things might proceed Geneva-like) in their Six Books of Consistorian Gravity.

And now, upon better Care being taken by her Majesty that no such Libels should be hereafter Printed in England (at the least

[1] This is not the place to attempt the difficult task of describing the "Classical Movement." In spite of Mr R. G. Usher's work [see *The Presbyterian Movement*, 1905, and *The Reconstruction of the English Church*, 1910] there still remains much that is mysterious. So far Bancroft's reports of his detective work—*A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline* and *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings* (both 1593)—have constituted the chief evidence. In addition, there are the accounts of the proceedings against the ministers in 1590 and 1591, with the depositions of such of them as confessed, as they are given in Strype and Fuller.

A good deal of new information is available, however, and it is to be hoped that this might be printed before long, in order that Bancroft's *ex parte* accounts may be qualified in due measure.

[2] *Dang. Pos.* Book II. c. 3.

without some danger to the Parties, if it may be known) they have found such favour, as to procure their chief Instrument and old Servant Walgrave to be the King of Scot's Printer; from whence their Wants in that behalf shall be fully supplied.

For having obtained that Place (as he pretendeth in Print) they have Published by hundreds certain spiteful and malicious Books against her Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council. Also their humble Motion to their LLs. with Three or Four very slanderous Treatises.

And now it seemeth, for fear that any of all their said Libels and railing Pamphlets, (that have been Written in her Highness's time) should perish (being many of them but Triobolar Chartals:). They have taken upon them to make a Register, and to Print them altogether in Scotland, in Two or Three Volumes: As it appeareth by a Part of the said Register already come from thence and finished; Which containeth in it Three or Four and Forty of the said Libels."

The "Part of the said Register" here mentioned has for its title[1]:

"A parte of a Register, contayninge sundrie memorable matters, written by divers godly and learned in our time, which stande for and desire the reformation of our Church, in Discipline and Ceremonies, accordinge to the pure worde of God, and the Lawe of our Lande."

The bulk of the issue of this volume seems to have been sent to London by ship, only to be destroyed there by order of the authorities[2]. Fortunately, however, several copies escaped and are still to be seen[3]. Probably the speedy confiscation of this volume deterred the ministers and their printers from proceeding with the publication of other volumes, and so a large portion of the material they had collected remains in manuscript in the "Seconde Parte of a Register" and the "Old Loose Papers."

To collect and edit the amount of matter represented in the printed and manuscript volumes, must have been a long and

[1] See list of contents below, pp. 30–3. It is hoped that before long this volume may be reprinted.

[2] Herbert's *Ames. Typog. Antiq.* III. 1514. Herbert attaches the Wardens' entry of the expenses incurred in the search for the volumes. "In search at Billingsgate three days for books that came out of Scotland, being 2 Barrels and 3 furkins. Delivered to my Lordes grace. 11sh. 8 pence." [July 15th, 1593. Stat. Reg. A. f. 268].

[3] B.M. 697, f. 14; B. [x. 1. Jur.]; W.; Congregat. Lib.; Mansfield Coll. Library, Oxford.

difficult task, and the wonder is that the Puritan leaders were able to succeed in it even as far as they did.

Possibly the secret of their partial success lies in Urwick's suggestion[1] that they received assistance in compilation and publication from Lady Anne Bacon, the wife of the Lord Keeper. There is abundant evidence of Lady Bacon's Puritan sympathies, and she seems to have gathered round her a body of Puritan preachers, including Percival Wyborne, Robert Johnson, William Dike, Humphrey Wildblood, Thomas Wilcox, and Richard Gawton. That she supported many of these by her purse as well as by her influence is proved by her many letters on their behalf, and by the testimony of the Bacon MSS. at Lambeth.

Many of these ministers are the subject of articles[2] in "A parte of a register," and that being so, it is very probable that they would secure the help of their patroness in publishing the Puritan apologia[3].

[1] *Nonconf. in Herts.* p. 86,—a volume based on valuable research, especially among the Acta of the St Albans' Archdeaconry.

[2] It is worth noting that the Hertfordshire ministers are scarcely mentioned in the "Seconde Parte." Probably they had their share in contributing and collecting material in the first part, and their brethren in other counties were responsible for the second.

[3] In "A parte of a register" (f. 528) appears "The copie of a letter, with a confession of faith, written by two faithful servants of God unto an Honourable and Vertuous Ladie." The authors of this item were John Field and Thomas Wilcox, and the letter is apparently meant for Lady Bacon. The writers say :

"We have here accomplished your Honor's goodly desire. That which we have written, we have written to this end, partly to testify our ready and willing minds unto your good Ladyship, to whom in many respects we acknowledge ourselves very much bound ; and partly to clear ourselves of the uncharitable surmises and slanderous reports which have with great vehemency been blown against us. This our simple doing, we offer unto your Honor, must humbly (as duty requireth) desiring you to take it in good part, and to use the same in such sort as to your Honor seemeth good. Our meaning is not to minister instruction to your H., because we are persuaded that your Ladyship is already fully instructed in the points and principles of Christian religion. Neither is it our purpose to purge ourselves before you as though your Honor had conceived any suspicion touching us that we should hold any error or heresy, for we nothing at all

But, even if Lady Bacon provided means for the collection and publication, others must have contributed the energy and ability necessary. It is not possible to name these men with certainty, neither can the "faithful, understanding, and observing gentleman who died about the end" of Elizabeth's reign—to whom Morrice gives the credit[1] for the collection—be identified.

Without doubt, however, one of the leading spirits of the movement was John Field[2], joint author of the *Admonition to the Parliament* (1572). From the time of his release from prison in 1573 until his decease in 1588, he seems to have been unwavering in his opposition to episcopacy, and unceasing in his activity, and by books and translations, sermons and lectures, he laboured to spread the tenets of the Puritan party. Shortly after Whitgift's consecration, he showed his uncompromising attitude and determination for the future. Writing[3] to Dr Chapman of Dedham (Nov. 19th, 1583), he said:

"Our new Archbishopp...sheweth himself as he was wonte to be. What good their ambitious pompe, and papall authority will bring to the gosple hath partly appeared already, and will appeare more hereafter, if god break not his hornes: for certeinly he is egerly set to overthrowe and wast his poore Church,—*use what meanes you can by writing, consultinge, and speakinge with those whom yt concerneth and who may doe good.* It wilbe to late to deale afterwards. The peace of the Church is at an End, if he be not curbed. You are wise to consider by advise and joigning together now to strengthen your handes in this worke. The Lord direct both you and us that we may fighte a good fighte and fynish with joy."

doubt, yea many and good reasons lead us thereunto, that your Honor (whatsoever unjust clamours and reports have been spread abroad against us) hath always had this good opinion of us, that we have been of sound and sincere judgment in matters of religion. Only to this end tendeth all our writing that your honor might have at all times in readiness by you some short writing of ours, by which you might stop the mouths of such persons, as, without any knowledge of us or our judgments, spare not, upon light credit to lewd reports, many times to condemn us as wicked men and heretics. Loth we would be that your Honor should, for defending of us, either run into discredit, or lose any part of your honourable estimation...."

[1] Above, p. 8.

[2] See his life in *D.N.B.*

[3] Quoted in Usher, *The Presbyterian Movement*, p. 96.

And Field was certainly resolved to "use what meanes" he could for the sake of the cause. He was a propagandist *par excellence,* who never hesitated for a moment or stopped to consider his own well-being; if all men might know the Puritan "platform" and understand the Puritan claims, he himself was quite satisfied. This is clearly seen from the depositions of Thomas Edmonds, one of the ministers examined in 1590. He said[1]:

"I do well remember that after I had left that Company...meeting with Mr Field, I talked with him what harm was already done, by inveighing against the present State of the Church, and by their Proceedings, in beating this their new Reformation into the Heads of the common People, because they were already grown thereby amongst themselves into great Divisions; very contemptuous, insolent, and intractable &c. Whereunto he answered, Tush, hold your Peace: Seeing we cannot compass these things by Suit nor Dispute, it is the Multitude and People that must bring them to pass."

Field's zeal and intense desire to popularise Puritanism appears also in his apology for printing John Knox's *Exposition of Matt.* 4[2]. The manuscript of this work he had borrowed from Edward Deering's widow, and he sent it to press (1583) without her knowledge, claiming that

"it is not meete...that it should lie any longer in the dust in secret, and not be published to the comfort of all."

Such being Field's character, it is not surprising that he took the lead both in the classes[3], and, apparently, in collecting materials for the "Registers." After quoting eight letters to him, Bancroft says[4]:

"This John Field (to whome all these questions were sent), whilest he lived was a great and chiefe man amongst the brethren

[1] Bancroft, *Dang. Pos.* 134.

[2] The apology continues:

"If, by yourself or others, you can procure any other of his writings or letters, here at home or abroad, in Scotland or in England, be a meane that we may receive them. It was great pitie that any, the least of his writings, should be lost...."

[3] Cf. his letter to Lincolnshire ministers in 1584, exhorting them to stand firm against subscription (S. A. III. I. 350).

[4] *Survey*, 369. See also *Dang. Pos.* 119, 134. Bancroft quotes dozens of letters from ministers to Field on all kinds of ecclesiastical business.

of London: and one to whome the managing of the discipline (for the outward practise of it) was especially (by the rest) committed. So as all the letters, that were directed from the brethren of other places to have this or that referred to the London assemblies, were for the most part directed unto him."

The famous and mysterious *Order of Wandsworth* in 1572 was "endorsed with Mr Field's Hand[1]," and it was in Mr Field's study that incriminating books and documents were found[2].

Not only so, but the present manuscripts themselves show traces of his activity. On several occasions he witnesses signatures and testifies to the correctness of copies[3], while Giles Wigginton heads his experiences[4]:

"Mr Wiggintons troubles to S^r^ Walter Mildmaye, sent also to Mr Feild[5] at his request. Maye 26th, 1587."

A further step in the argument lies in the fact that the connexion of Field with the mysterious company of men whose names are associated with the Marprelate Tracts is perfectly clear.

Already in 1589, Nicholas Tomkins[6] had "heard some name Master Field, some Master Wigginton, others Master Penry, and others Master Marbury, a Preacher, to be Author of them," while Matthew Sutcliffe's opinion[7] in 1595 was that

"John Penry...John Udall, John Field: all Johns; and Job Throkmorton, all concurred in making Martin."

Especially does Field's connexion with the first Tract, *The Epistle*, seem very close. Henry Sharpe deposed[8] that "of ye first Martin, Penry sayd, some notes were found in Master Fyeld's study."

[1] *Dang. Pos.* 66. [2] *Survey*, 301, 306.

[3] E.g. "Concordat Jo. Feilde" (No. 137 below); "testor Jo Feild" (Nos. 233–5).

[4] Nos. 241–2. Cf. the notes attached to Nos. 114 and 172.

[5] Compare John Udall's admission [Arber, *Marprel. Controversy*, 93 (from Harl. MS. 6849 f. 154)] "that hee delivered a reporte of his own Actions and of others to Master Field in writing,...touching the conference betwene himself and the Lord Bishop of Winton, about the subscription." This report is no doubt No. 196 (below).

[6] Arber, *Marprel. Controv.* 84.

[7] *Ibid.* 175. [8] *Ibid.* 128.

Again, Sharpe said[1] that he saw *The Epistle*

"in Master Penrys hands, and asking him who made it, his answere was that some such notes were found in Master Feilds Study, that Master Feild upon his death bed willed they should be burnt, and repented for collecting them, whereby this Examinate was satisfied, supposeing it to have been of Master Feilds doing."

It is easy to prove that Field was concerned in the Marprelate scheme, at any rate at the beginning, and it is easy to see that he had much to do with the compilation of the Puritan "Register," but it is easiest of all to show that there is a very close connexion between the Tracts and the present manuscripts.

To consider *The Epistle* only, the only Tract printed while Field was alive. Not only does it contain references[2] to Mrs Lawson, Travers, Paget, Udall, Benison, Wigginton, and the Lambeth Conference of 1584, but it apparently contains references to the compilation of the "Register."

Thus Martin asks[3] the Bishops to

"see...what a perilous fellow Master Marprelate is. He understands all your knavery, *and it may be, keeps a register of them.* Unless you amend they shall all come into the light one day."

Again, he proclaims war against the Bishops, and promises to labour against them in two ways[4].

"First, I will watch you at every half turn; and whatsoever you do amiss, I will presently publish it. You shall not call one honest man before you, but I will get his examination...and publish it, if you deal not according to the former conditions. To this purpose I will place a young Martin in every diocese, which may take note of your practices....And rather than I will be disappointed of my purpose, I will place a Martin in every parish. In part of Suffolk and Essex I think I were best to have two in a parish....

[1] Arber, *Marprel. Controv.* 94. See below, p. 18, note 1.

[2] Rev. W. Pierce, *The Marprelate Tracts* [1911], pp. 30–2 and 98, 60, 62, 74–5, 93, 57, 87. Compare Calendar below, Nos. 191, 168, 175, 196, 158–60, 241–2, 173.

[3] Pierce, 79.

[4] *Ibid.* 82, 3. For other references cf. "Hay any worke" (*ibid.* 283):

"I will learn the truth hereof, and so I will post to Solihull; and, visiting some parts of Stafford, Warwick, and Northampton shires, I will make a journey back again to Norfolk and Suffolk. I have a register at Bury. And by that time my Visitors will be come out of Cornwall, Devon, and Hampshire."

Secondly, all the books that I have in store already of your doings shall be published upon the breach of the former covenants, or any of them....I mean to make a survey into all the diocese[s] in this land, that I may keep a visitation among my clergymen."

From all this it would seem probable that the Puritans had a kind of publication department, with John Field as head or editor-in-chief until the time of his death (? Mar. 1588). To him ministers in the country sent accounts of their sufferings and other information, while he himself was always on the watch for good "copy." Part of this material was printed in "A parte of a register," and part in the Marprelate Tracts[1]—especially the early ones—the rest remained in the manuscripts here calendared.

After Field's death it would seem that Martin pursued his own course, while Field's work on the "Register" was continued by other ministers, perhaps under the leadership of the unknown "most faithful, understanding, and observing gentleman."

Further History of the Manuscripts

1. By the end of Elizabeth's reign, probably by 1593 or 1594, the Puritans had in their hands (and ready for the press) "The Seconde Parte of a Register" (No. 1) and the "Old Loose Papers" (No. 2, Part 1).

[1] The argument is not that John Field was the writer of the Tracts, even of *The Epistle*—his death prevents any such hypothesis—but that he was the contributor, possibly the largest contributor, of material, and would probably have actually written the Tracts but for his death. [See Sharpe's evidence on the relation of Field's death to the publication of *The Epitome*, Arber, 96.] The present writer agrees with the Rev. W. Pierce's summary on the question of Field's relation to the Tracts [*Hist. Intro. to the Marprelate Tracts*, 1908, p. 283 :

"The man who supplies the timber is not necessarily the designer and builder of the house. And the death of John Field precludes the possibility of associating his name with the development of the controversy."

While Mr Pierce would emphasise the last sentence, however, the present writer would lay stress on the fact that Field supplied most of the timber, and he is inclined to think also that he had much to do with the design of the house. He finds himself unable to agree with Mr Pierce in describing Penry's answer to Sharpe (*Hist. Intro.* p. 283—"some such notes were found in Master Feilds Study..." ; see above p. 17) as an evasion—he believes these notes really formed the basis of *The Epistle*.

2. Nothing at all is known about the volumes between this time and the time of Roger Morrice. Towards the end of the 17th century Morrice was in possession of the volumes, and he had the present transcripts made by his amanuensis (No. 3 and No. 2, Part 2).

3. Shortly after Morrice's death, Neal[1] used the "Transcript," but he does not state where he saw it[2], and we have no knowledge of the resting place of the three volumes until 1813, when Brook[3] says that the "MS. Register" (i.e. the "Transcript") was in the Dr Williams's Library. The Library has no record of the presentation or purchase of the volumes[4], and it seems probable that they were in the possession of Daniel Williams at the time of his death.

Williams, no doubt, would acquire them from his contemporary Morrice[5], perhaps directly, or perhaps by way of two other Puritan divines[6], John Evans and John Quick. In his

[1] Vol. I. of the *History of the Puritans*, pub. in 1732. See below.

[2] Strype, when quoting the present manuscripts, never mentions their situation, but always calls them "private" or "MSS. penes me."

[3] *Lives of the Puritans* [1813, III. 539–40].

[4] Black's *Catalogue* (1858) says :

"By what means or when this invaluable Collection was deposited here, has not yet been ascertained."

The present Librarian has no additional information.

[5] For some connexion of Morrice with Williams, and also with Richard Baxter and Matthew Sylvester, see the present writer's article in *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.* (1912), and above, p. 5, note 2.

[6] See *D.N.B.* for these and for Daniel Williams.

John Quick (?–1706), a Puritan antiquary to whom Calamy expressed his indebtedness (*Account*, II. 24–5), was the author of *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata* (1692), and of the manuscript "Icones Sacrae Anglicanae" and "Icones Sacrae Gallicanae" in the Dr Williams's Library. Quick's daughter married John Evans (1679?–1730), a divine whose pursuits were akin to those of his father-in-law and of Morrice.

Evans intended to write a comprehensive history of Nonconformity from the Reformation to 1640, and he read, as he believed, every book on the subject (and he is said to have had a library of 10,000 volumes !). His "Collections" for this history are in manuscript in the Dr Williams's Library, and show that he did not get far with the work. Daniel Neal (1678–1743) was to write the history from 1640 onwards, and when Evans died with his work uncompleted, Neal carried out the whole scheme. [See the Memoirs of Neal, prefixed to the *History of the Puritans* (ed. 1822,

will Morrice says he has disposed of most of his books (see above, p. 3), but directs his executors to deal with *those volumes and papers that treat of ecclesiastical history* according to the instructions contained in a certain paper. Unfortunately this paper is nowhere to be found.

Previous Use of the Manuscripts

1. *Daniel Neal. History of the Puritans* (ed. 1822, 5 vols. Vol. I. is Elizabethan).

Neal published the first volume of his *History* in 1732, and in the Preface told the world of his use of the "Transcript."

"I have cited my authorities in the margin, and flatter myself that I have had the opportunity of bringing many things to light relating to the sufferings of the Puritans, and the state of the Reformation in those times, which have hitherto been unknown to the world, chiefly by the assistance of a large manuscript collection of papers, faithfully transcribed from their originals in the University of Cambridge, by a person of character employed for that purpose, and generously communicated to me by my ingenious and learned friend Dr Benjamin Grosvenor[1]; for which I take this opportunity of returning him my own, and the thanks of the public."

Eight years later, Bishop Maddox published his *Vindication of the Doctrine and Worship of the Church of England, against the injurious reflections of Mr Neal, &c.* In this work the Bishop attacks Neal especially for the unsatisfactory account he had given of the "unknown manuscript" from which he had quoted so freely. He goes on to say[2]:

"It ought to be remarked that Mr Neal's account of their sufferings, and behavior that occasioned these sufferings, is chiefly taken from themselves; he has obtained, as he acquaints us in his preface, a copy of a large MS. Collection of Papers, the originals of which are said to be lodged in the University of Cambridge, but he names no particular library or college; nor does he acquaint us when the Papers themselves were wrote, by whom, or who was the collector of them. In short, his account of this MS. Collection of

I. xxi).] Evans became assistant, and afterwards successor, to Daniel Williams in London. No doubt, therefore, there would be acquaintance, and probably close friendship, between Morrice, Quick, Williams, and Evans, but it is strange that no actual mention of the present manuscripts can be found.

[1] 1676–1758.

[2] p. 190.

Papers upon which he lays such great stress, is the most unsatisfactory and unscholarlike that can be imagined. This gentleman says (p. 201), 'if we may believe Dr Whitgift,' etc., and yet gives entire credit to anonymous MS. which ought to have been supported by some unquestionable authority, since, by his own account, it brings many things to light hitherto unknown to the world. This he quotes, upon all occasions, as substantial evidence, though it plainly appears to be a very angry and partial account. A MS. is not to be credited merely for being such; and this in particular, may be convicted of great mistakes."

To this criticism Neal replied in his "Review of the Principal Facts objected to, in the first volume of the *History of the Puritans*[1]."

"Our author is pleased to pour great contempt on Mr Neal's Manuscript Collection of original Papers, because it brings to light some of those unjustifiable Severities which the Historians of those times had omitted; but its Authority shall be left with the reader, after he is acquainted that it was collected many years ago, at the Expence of Reverend Mr Humphry [*sic, Roger*] Morrice, some time Chaplain to Denzil, Lord Hollis, who employed an Amanuensis in the University of Cambridge for this purpose, whose name I could mention if it were proper; but it is sufficient to say that at the foot of most of the Papers, there are References to the Places from whence they were copied, and the industrious Mr Strype was so well satisfied of the Authority of this MS. that at his own request he was permitted to transcribe from it several of those papers which are among his Records."

In spite of this reply, however, it is clear that Maddox had ground for his criticism, for Neal clearly had no real understanding of the nature of the manuscripts from which he had quoted so freely. He does not even give Morrice's correct Christian name, he admits he used transcripts of documents he had not seen himself, and he speaks of "originals in the University of Cambridge"—documents which nobody had known before, and nobody has ever seen since[2]. The fact that a reference was given at the foot of each document to the place from which it was copied seems to have satisfied him, and he does not seem to have made any attempt to examine these

[1] p. 7.

[2] Lorimer (*John Knox*, p. 249–50, *q.v.*) went to Cambridge to find the originals! The only possible ground for Neal's statement lies in the fact that the "Transcript" contains copies of some fifteen articles in the Parker Correspondence in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

references. Otherwise he would have discovered the existence of "The Seconde Parte of a Register" and the "Old Loose Papers."

His method of using the documents[1] when he had them before him may be imagined from this discussion. From the point of view of modern scientific history, he deserves little but condemnation, but when the historical method of his time is remembered, he deserved commendation too. He certainly realised the importance of the volume of manuscripts he quoted, and knew that it should rank as an authority.

He scarcely ever quotes a document in full, however, and where portions are copied, they are never given literatim or even verbatim. His general method is to paraphrase, omitting whole paragraphs without indication, and always bringing the document to support his own view point. The selections for reference are made in a haphazard and unscientific sort of way, and the valuable part of an item is often missed. Figures are often incorrectly copied and totals incorrectly made.

2. *Brook. Lives of the Puritans*, 3 volumes (1813).

Brook made liberal use both of Neal and the "Transcript." Indeed, if he had done efficiently the work to which he set his hand, there would have been little need for a further Calendar of a considerable number of these manuscripts. Brook's method was evidently to look for the name of a Puritan minister "troubled" for nonconformity, and at once to fasten on a paragraph or more of the article concerning him, and use it. In his work there are references to almost all the *personal* documents in the "Transcript." Nevertheless, his use of the manuscripts is much less efficient and much more unfair than that of Neal. Not only does he quote but one paragraph of an examination covering several pages, but he misses out whole speeches, leaving the reader to think the controversy goes straight along. But even that is not the worst! Words are deliberately altered to suit his eulogy of the Puritans, and whole sentences which reflect credit on a Bishop left out. For an example of the way he omits references detrimental to the Puritans and phrases

[1] Mr Usher—though evidently he does not know the present volumes at first-hand—gives very fair and able criticisms of Neal and Brook. [*Recons.* II. 391–3.] Cf. below, p. 25.

necessary to an argument as well as an example of his failure to understand at all what he was quoting, see his paraphrase (II. 189) of the "Transcript" 132 f. (It might also be mentioned that he never attempts to transcribe any Latin—not even a phrase.)

The conference here described is between Pearson, the Archbishop's Chaplain, and the two authors of the *Admonition* (Field and Wilcox), then in Newgate. This is in the middle of the discussion:

"Transcript"	*Brook*
Pearson. I pray you let me see the causes why I may not come into another man's charge.	What are the reasons why I may not come into another man's charge?
Wilcox. If our church were reformed, that is to say, if in every congregation there were planted a godly *seignory* and a learned painful ministry, then you might preach in another man's charge, so it were to end a controversy, to confirm some doctrine, to beat down an heresy etc.; and yet this you might not do unless you were both requested thereunto by the ministry and *seignory* of the other church, and licensed by your own congregation.	If our church were so reformed that there was a learned and painful ministry with a godly *sincerity* in every congregation, then, with a view to end a controversy, confirm a doctrine, or refute an error, you might preach in another man's charge, yet you might not do this, unless you were requested by the minister and *seniority* of the church, and permitted by your own.
P. I pray you give me leave to receite other things that I mislike. One other point is this, you seem to have written rather of choler against some persons than to seek a godly reformation, for that should have been done in spiritu caritatis.	You seem to have written your book in choler against some persons, rather than to promote a reformation of the church.
W. I gather by your words that you are grieved with the bitterness of the style; for that matter I answer let every vat stand on its own bottom.	I suppose you are displeased with the sharpness of the language. We are willing to bear the blame of that.
P. Indeed I think it did not proceed from the spirit of love and charity, for God's spirit is mild and gentle.	I think it did not proceed from a spirit of love, and charity, and meekness.

This is but one example of many which may be given to show that Brook must be used with the greatest care.

3. *Lorimer. John Knox and the Church of England* [1875. See above, p. 7].

In this work, which has been overlooked by many students, Lorimer prints four papers from "The Seconde Parte of a Register," all of them relating to John Knox (Nos. 6–8, 31). The four papers are given literatim, and the introductions to them are exceptionally well done, while a scholarly account of the Morrice MSS. is prefixed.

4. *Davids. Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex* (1863).

In this a portion of the *Survey of the Clergy* (No. 205) is printed.

5. *Browne. History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk* (1877).

Quotes one or two of the documents referring to these counties.

6. *Waddington. Congregational History*, vols. I. and II. (1869, 1880). *Surrey Congregational History* (1866).

These volumes contain several references to the "Transcript."

7. *Rev. W. Pierce. Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts* (1908). *The Marprelate Tracts* (1911).

Quote the account of Wigginton's Troubles (Nos. 241–2).

Other writers who refer to the documents seem to know them only at second-hand, through the works just quoted. On the whole, the volumes have been overlooked or neglected by students of Elizabethan ecclesiastical history. The few who have consulted them have been deterred from making a proper examination of them by their size, but the majority do not know of their existence.

Contents and Value of the Manuscripts

To summarise the contents of these three volumes would be to write the history of Puritanism for a considerable portion of

Queen Elizabeth's reign, and to anticipate a volume which the present author has in hand. In the Calendar the manuscripts can speak for themselves, and here it is simply necessary to point out that these long neglected documents must take a prominent place among the authorities for early Nonconformist history.

They constitute part of the official Puritan apologia, and as such, demand consideration, and the reports they contain must be placed side by side with the Registers of Bishops and the Acta of Archdeacons' Courts in order to obtain a true representation of the state of the church.

Indeed, while remembering that they are of an *ex parte* nature and that it is impossible for the scientific historian to accept them indiscriminately as did Neal and Brook, it is safe to say that no accurate account of the ecclesiastical history of the years 1570–90 can be written without consulting them[1].

Indeed from Elizabeth's first insistence on uniformity (the *Advertisements*) down to the time of the publication of *The Marprelate Tracts*, the volumes are full of valuable evidence. New light is thrown on the organisation of the early separatists[2], dubious points in regard to the issue of the *Admonition to the Parliament* are made clear, and the "congregational" nature of the Presbyterianism of the period is made evident.

Of especial worth are the accounts of Archbishop Whitgift's attempts to enforce uniformity and secure subscription. The manifold petitions and supplications of ministers and people, the repeated offers to subscribe according to the Act of 1571, and the strong protests against the oath *ex officio mero*, give a vivid picture of the condition of the church, a picture which is set in

[1] The late Canon Dixon and the Rev. W. H. Frere have both written valuable histories of the church during this period, but the former does not mention the volumes (his *History* closes with the year 1570), and the latter's time would have been much better spent in examining them than in marring an able and moderate series of volumes [ed. Stephens and Hunt] by unfortunate generalisations like that on p. 175: "But truthfulness never was the Puritans' strong point."

[2] The present writer hopes to publish shortly a paper on "The Separatists, 1567–71," incorporating the new information contained below.

true perspective by records like that of the "Troubles" of John Knight (No. 113).

Without doubt these petitions &c. were organised[1],—like most other petitions from that day to this,—but that does not detract from their value as evidence, and the cumulative force of such a number as are here given must be considerable.

Of great importance too, are the reiterated pleas for a learned, preaching ministry, especially considered with the collateral protests against pluralities, non-residence, and lay-impropriation. The surveys of the clergy attached to these give striking information as to the character, ability, preaching capacity, income, and residence of incumbents[2], and they must be compared with the episcopal reports of the time in order that, the bias on opposite sides being neutralised, a fair and accurate estimate might be obtained[3].

But it is quite impossible to detail all the features of Puritan history and polemic which figure prominently in the three volumes. The continental nature of the Puritan position appears in the frequent desire to follow "the best reformed churches," while the English Anabaptists and Familists are covered with reproach. There are frequent denunciations of the Brownists, while fierce hatred of everything that "savours of Popery" is everywhere expressed. Time and again strong objection is taken to the ascription of the name Puritan. New light is thrown on the personalities of Knox, Cartwright, Field, Wigginton, Udall, and Fenner, on the one side, and of Whitgift, Sandys, and Aylmer, on the other, while between the

[1] For evidence of this cf. the answers of the ministers in 1590 [e.g. Strype, *Whitgift*, III. 271–82]. Thus Thomas Barber tells how the ministers "debated...of supplication to her Majesty, the Council, and BB. for ease of the grievances upon the Ministers, by suspension, deprivation, and imprisonment for ceremonies." From this organisation of petitions, Mr Usher claims that Puritanism was entirely ministerial and non-popular. [*Ch. Quart. Rev.* 1904.]

[2] See especially No. 205 below, with the summary attached.

[3] The present writer has expressed his views on the state of the clergy in the brief introduction to the document printed in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.* April, 1911, views which are based on a lengthy list of surveys, &c., which he has prepared. See also Usher, *Recons.* I. 205–43.

two a glimpse is to be obtained of Burghley, Leicester, and other nobles, to whom the ministers many times appealed for help and protection, and often not in vain.

Not in the presentation of these leading men, however, does the great value of the manuscripts consist, but in the picture of a host of ordinary men, whose names are not known to history, but whose lives helped to make the church and the nation.

Notes to Calendar

The date of an item is given when it is stated at the head of the manuscript, or when it is perfectly clear from internal evidence. The impossible task of discovering the authorship and fixing the exact date of the many anonymous and undated articles has not been attempted. While it is only in rare instances that internal evidence fails to give the *approximate* date of a document, it is very difficult to place the items in exact chronological order. Thus it would be extremely hazardous to venture to attach a more exact date to the numerous documents obviously written between 1583 and 1587.

Reference to Neal and Brook is made in most cases where these writers have used the manuscripts to any considerable extent. Seeing that there is scarcely a single instance in either where an item is quoted fully or accurately, an exhaustive list of their quotations has been thought superfluous.

Exigencies of space have made it impossible also to give full references to all names and incidents mentioned. Simply to have referred to the pages of Strype, Cooper, Wood, Foster, &c., and to collections of manuscripts like the Lansdowne and Harleian in the British Museum, would have meant the addition of almost another volume. The omission is to be regretted, but this work is intended especially for the use of students of the period, and they will be able to turn up the familiar indexes without much loss of time. Where references are necessary for a proper understanding of an item, of course they are given.

Abbreviations used

I., II.	Parts I. and II. of "The Seconde Parte of a Register" (No. 1).
O.L.P., N.L.P.	"Old Loose Papers" and "New Loose Papers" (No. 2).
Trans.	"Transcript" volume (No. 3).
Pr. MSS.	"Private Manuscripts."
B.M.	British Museum.
B.	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
C.C.C.C.	Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge.

L.	The Archbishop's Library, Lambeth.
W.	Dr Williams's Library, London.
S.P.D.	State Papers, Domestic, in the Record Office, London.
Neal	*History of the Puritans* (ed. 1822. Vol. I.).
Brook	*Lives of the Puritans* (1813. 3 vols.).
Strype	John Strype. *Works* (1820–8. 27 vols.).
S.A.	Strype's *Annals of the Reformation.*
S.P.	Strype's *Life &c. of Parker.*
S.W.	Strype's *Life of Whitgift.*
Ath. Cant.	Cooper's *Athenae Cantab.* (1858. 2 vols.).
Alum. Oxon.	Foster's *Alumni Oxon.* (1891. 8 vols.).
Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.	*Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.*
D.N.B.	*Dictionary of National Biography.*
Dang. Pos.	Bancroft. *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings* (1593).
Survey.	Bancroft. *Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline.*

"A PARTE OF A REGISTER, CONTAYNINGE SUNDRIE MEMORABLE MATTERS, WRITTEN BY DIVERS GODLY AND LEARNED IN OUR TIME, WHICH STANDE FOR, AND DESIRE THE REFORMATION OF OUR CHURCH, IN DISCIPLINE AND CEREMONIES, ACCORDINGE TO THE PURE WORDE OF GOD AND THE LAWE OF OUR LANDE."

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191. [ ] The Archbishop and M^rs^ Lawson. II. 103. Trans. 801.

192. [ ] M^r^ Harsnet and the surplice. II. 104. Trans. 801.

193. 1586. Edward Gellibrand's examination. II. 109–10. Trans. 801–3.

194. 1586. M^r^ Settle's imprisonment. II. 86 r.–7. Trans. 798.

195. 1586. John Gardiner's Supplication. I. 190. Trans. 752.
[In Neal 377.]

196. 1586. John Udall. II. 48–53. Trans. 772–81.
[See Brook II. 1–9 and State Trials I. 144.]

197. 1586. A Letter of Laurence Tomson. O.L.P. 35. Trans. 640–1.

198. 1586. Treatise by "S^r^ Hew Herbert." O.L.P. 178–83.

199. 1586. William Fuller's "Book" to the Queen. I. 294–312. Trans. 623–39.

200. [ ] "A treatise of the Church." By R. H. I. 441–65. Trans. 533–54.

201. [ ] Dudley Fenner's examination of M^r^ Vaughan's Preface to de Loque. I. 511–22. Trans. 555–67.

202–3. [ ] Puritan Ministers' answer to an enquiry. II. 139 r., 141–2. Trans. 593–4.

204. 1586. General Supplication to Parliament. I. 33–46. Trans. 672–83.

205. 1586. A Survey of the Clergy presented to Parliament. I. 46–129. N.L.P. 118–22. Trans. 684–747.

206. [1586.] A Supplication from Cornwall to Parliament. I. 135–7. Trans. 300–2.

207–9. [1586.] The London Clergy.
i. A petition of the Citizens to the Queen. O.L.P. 142[1]. N.L.P. 115–7. Trans. 837–9.
ii. Reasons for reformation of state of ministry. N.L.P. 118–21. Trans. 839–40.
iii. Names of Parishes, Clergy &c. Trans. 840–3.

210. [1586.] A Supplication from London to Parliament. I. 137–8. Trans. 302.

211. [1586.] A Supplication of Cambridge students to Parliament. I. 138–9. Trans. 303.

212. [1584?] The complaint of Malden to the Council. I. 177–8. Trans. 457–8.

[1] Pp. 143–51 of the O.L.P. are missing. These no doubt contained Nos. ii. and iii. (208, 9).

213. 1586. Malden & neighbouring hundreds to their Burgesses. I. 143–4. Trans. 748–9.

214. [1586.] The hundred of Rocheford to the Council. O.L.P. 101. N.L.P. 58. Trans. 749.

215. [1586.] Certain Essex hundreds to Parliament. I. 144–5. Trans. 749.

216. 1586. John Large of Chichester to Parliament. I. 145. Trans. 750.

217. 1586. Dunmow to Lord Rich. I. 185–7. Trans. 751.

218. 1586. Thomas Farrar and the surplice. II. 91 r. Trans. 805.

219. 1586. Orders for Increase of Learning in Inferior Ministers. II. 103. Trans. 799.
[In Wilkins, *Concilia* IV. 321.]

220. [1586?] Articles to be enquired. II. 104 r.–5 r. Trans. 803–5.

221. [1586.] A Bill for reformation of the ministry. I. 195–7. Trans. 308–10.

222. [1586.] An Act concerning the subscription of ministers. I. 197–8. Trans. 465.

223. [1586.] How to establish a sufficient ministry. I. 545. Trans. 206–7.

224. [1586.] Articles of reformation of the ministry. I. 435–7. Trans. 393–5.

225. 1585–7. Archbishop Whitgift's Friendliness to Papists. II. 104. Trans. 826.

226–9. 1586–7. Robert Cawdry's Troubles. II. 75–81. Trans. 790–8.
[In part, Brook I. 430–40.]

230. [1587.] Request of true Christians to Parliament. II. 127–30. Trans. 814–8.

231. 1587. A Bill for further reformation, offered with Book to Parliament. I. 247–51. Trans. 821–3.

232. [1587.] An Act for establishing a new form of common prayer. O.L.P. 156 r.–8. N.L.P. 26–9. Trans. 823–5.

233–5. 1584–7. Relating to M^r^ Barber. I. 181–3. II. 93 r. Trans. 458–9, 588, 825.

236–7. 1587. John Wilson. II. 54–62. Trans. 782–7, 826–34.
[Very imperfectly, Brook I. 339–55.]

238. 1587. A commission against certain preachers. O.L.P. 136–7. N.L.P. 44–7. Trans. 835–7.

239–40. 1587. M^r^ More and M^r^ Higgins. II. 71 r.–3. Trans. 787–90.

241–2. 1587–8. Giles Wigginton. II. 26–39 r. O.L.P. 29–32. N.L.P. 36–44. Trans. 753–72, 843–50.
[Imperfectly, Neal 377. Brook I. 418–28.]

243. 1588. Supplication of Suspended Essex Ministers to Parliament. I. 139–42. Trans. 818–20.
[In part, Brook II. 277–8.]

244. 1588. Mr Hildersam's recantation. II. 104. Trans. 825.

245–6. [1590?] i. Suspended Essex Ministers.

ii. Other ministers suspended, deprived &c. II. 91. Trans. 584–5.

247. 1590. "A Collection of Certaine Sclaunderous Articles" [H. Barrowe]. Published in 1590. O.L.P. 129–31 r. Trans. 850–5.

248. [ ] A Confession of Sin. II. 140.

249. [ ] A Poem of 16 lines—T. M. to J. B. II. 231.

250–7. Eight miscellaneous documents—patents and extracts from Dyer's Reports. Trans. 867–71.

1—5. VARIOUS PAPERS OF EDWARD VI'S REIGN.

1. 1547. The names of those appointed for the Visitation of the Church. Aug. 1547.

Printed in Strype, *Cranmer*, I. 209. [C.C.C.C. 121. 39.]

2. 1548. The Council to the Vice-Chancellor, Masters... and Students of the University of Cambridge, Jan. 1st, 1547/8.

To point out that the Proclamation[1] made against those who speak irreverently of the "Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ" does not restrain free speech in University disputations. Nevertheless care should be taken that all be reverently ordered.

Printed in Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, II. II. 340–3.

3. 1548. The Duke of Somerset to Bishop Gardiner. June 28th, 1548.

Commanding him to refrain from controversial topics in his sermon.

Printed from the original (C.C.C.C. 127. 2) by Burnet, V. 226–7; Wilkins, *Concilia*, IV. 28.

4. 1548. The Duke of Somerset to the Vice-Chancellor, &c. of the University of Cambridge, Sep. 4th, 1548.

Commanding that uniformity of worship, "such as is presently used in the Kings Maties Chappell, and none other," be observed until further order be taken.

5. 1548. Edward VI and the Council[2] to the University of Cambridge, Dec. 4th, 1549.

"We, having at this present within our Realme Martin Bucer, a man of Profound Learning and of godly life and conversation, have thought good by the Advice of our Trusty and Welbeloved Councellors to Bestow him upon you to Reade the Lecture of Holy Scriptures, which Dr Madewe lately Read."

[1] Dec. 27th, 1547.

[2] "Cant.; R. Riche, Canc.; W. Saint John; H. Percivall; W. North; W. Herbert; Tho. Elien; Th. Wenteworth."

6—8. THREE ITEMS RELATING TO JOHN KNOX.

These very valuable documents have been printed verbatim in Lorimer's *John Knox and the Church of England* (1875), a very able volume, which deserves the attention of every student.

The items are:

1. John Knox to the Congregation at Berwick (*c.* 1552).
2. A "Report" on Article 38 (*re* kneeling at Communion), presented to the Council by Knox, (and probably others, but see Lorimer, pp. 275–89) (*c.* 1552).
3. A fragment, entitled:

   "The practies of the Lordes Supper yewsed in Barwike upon Twyed by Johne Knoxe, precher to that congregation in the Churche there." (*c.* 1550.)

9. 1554. "Thees be certeine communicacions had betwene lady Jane Dudley and Fecknam two dayes before she dyed, wrytten wythe hir owne hande woorde for woorde as neere as she coulde at mydnyghte in the Towree of London, the xth daye of February, A^{o}. 1553."

Only three sentences by Lady Jane and the Dean are given of the whole dialogue, which was printed[1] in 1554 (see Art. "Lady Jane Dudley" in *D.N.B.*).

10. 1557. "The form of the discipline receaved and confirmed by the authoritie of the Englishe churche at Franckford."

This "New Order" for the government of the church is printed *in extenso* in the *Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford* (pp. cxv–cxxxv, ed. 1846). The manuscript has only 42 names of subscribers compared with the 57 (plus 24 added later) of the printed work.

[1] Reprinted by Foxe in *Acts and Monuments* (Pratt's edition, VI. 415–17).

11—20. Ten Letters to Archbishop Parker.
Copies from C.C.C.C. Vol. 114.

11. 1560. A letter from "Gregorie Dodds[1]" to [the Archbishop of Canterbury], dated from Exeter, Apl. 11th, 1560. [C.C.C.C. 114. 314.]

Finding not a single person in residence at Exeter, he has entered on residence—though he can ill afford to do so—in order to see good order kept. He learns that suspected men are to be placed in rooms that should be occupied by preachers, and so Christ and His Word are to be kept out.

He therefore asks that the rule said to prevail in King Edward's time might be applied, and none but preachers allowed, so that Papistry might be rooted out and the Gospel might flourish. Mr Huntingdon "takes great paines," and he should be appointed rather than covetous "hollow hearted Catholics."

He is leaving for London, and asks the Archbishop to see that no advantage is taken of his absence.

12. 1560. Francis Babington[2] to Archbishop Parker, June 12th, 1560. [C.C.C.C. 114. 289.]

Is glad of the appointment of Lawrence Humphrey to the post of Divinity Reader in Oxford. The study of Divinity in the University has much decayed through lack of Readers, but he trusts Humphrey will revive it.

13. 1561. From Sir Wm. Cecil, enclosing letter from Richard Cheney[3]. [From C.C.C.C. 114. 181. Printed in *Parker Corresp.* (Parker Soc.) 138–9, and S.A. I. II. 503–5.]

14. 1561. "A Letter of Merick, Bp. of Bangor." [Original in C.C.C.C. 114. 177.]

"Right honoble and my singular good Lord,...These are to signifie to your Grace that by this Bearer I send a Booke of the names and surnames of all and singular the Deane, Archdeacons,

[1] Gregory Dodds was appointed Dean of Exeter in Feb. 1559/60. See *Ath. Cant.* I. 291, and *Parker Corresp.* 107.

[2] Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, 1560–2. See *Ath. Cant.* I. 557.

[3] Afterwards Bishop of Gloucester. See *Ath. Cant.* I. 400, 567.

Chancellor, Chanter, and other the Dignitaries and Prebendaries in my Cathedrall Church of Bangor, and because of the Exility of the more part of them, I thought good to intimate the same in the saide Booke, wherein I have also described all the Parsons and Vicars within my Dioces, the Residency of every of them, Noteing also upon their names their Ministry, as Deacon or Priest, and the like of their Hospitality, with ii Memorands declaring such as are not Deacons or Priests, and the Benefices with Cure of Soules, to the end that your Grace may perceive how men being no Ministers, have such Livings, to the utter decay of Learned men to be Ministers, the other having that Liberty.

Finally, because there are but ij Preachers whose names be in the end of the same Booke, I have declared...the names of such other within my Dioces as can do well and set forth the Truth according as it is prescribed, with whome I have and do Travill for their good Will therein, considering that they understand the Latin tongue, and, being well affected, may do much good, purposing to Licence as occasion deserveth,...

From my house in Bangor, the viii day of May, 1561.

ROLAND BANGOR."

15—17. 1565, 1568, 1568. Three Letters from Bishop Jewel to Archbishop Parker, dated Dec. 26th, 1565, Apl. 26th, 1568, and May 3rd, 1568.

[The letters are printed in the Parker Society's edition of the Bishop's Works (pp. 1265, 1274, 1274) from the originals (C.C.C.C. 114. 159–61).]

18. 1566. Richard Masters[1] to Archbishop Parker. From Greenwich, June 8th, 1566. [C.C.C.C. 114. 253.]

Begs for some respite for "the bearer, my brother, much perplexed and troubled in his conscience about this conformity in Apparel, and cannot as yet be reduced to use the same."

19. 1567. "Some Gentlemen of Suffolk" to Archbishop Parker. Dated Oct. 27th, 1567, and subscribed by Robert Wyngfelt, Wm Hopton, Ro. Hopton, William Caundyshe, Thomas Petton, Thomas Colby of Beckles, and Thomas Playlesse. [C.C.C.C. 114. 237.]

The letter is given in full in Browne, p. 14; *Parker Corresp.* 236.

[1] *Ath. Cant.* II. 20.

Prays for the restoration of M^r^ Lawrence[1] who has been a good, able and diligent preacher for five or six years. He preached "of his own charge," and never did anything worthy of reproach. Now in the circuit in which he travelled, from Blithbrough to Ipswich, twenty miles long by ten broad, there is not a single preacher.

20. [.] A Letter of "Thomas Geste[2], Warden of Manchester" to [Archbishop Parker]. Mar. 27^th^, [ ][3].

The original is in C.C.C.C. 114. 304.

Although the Archbishop wrote that M^r^ Corker[4] should depart to the benefice his Grace had given him, yet Corker and Geton had so stirred the people that Geste's life had been in jeopardy. Furthermore, they had so proclaimed their heresies in private conventicles that the country for ten miles round was filled with disobedience and ill doctrine. The magistrates favour the malefactors, while Geste is but a stranger. He therefore asks for support, or to be allowed to depart.

21. 1558 or 1559. "A Discourse of Certain Romanists exhibited to the Queens Council immediately on Queen Elizabeths coming in, among which was thought D^r^ Heath to be the Penner of the said Discourse."

The original is in C.C.C.C. 121. 18; the speech is that printed by Strype (*Annals* I. II. 431–8) under the title:—"The oration of the reverend father in God M^r^ D^r^ Fecknam, abbot of Westminster, in the parliament-howse, 1559, against the bill for the Liturgy."

22. 1561. The Queen to the Bishops, for revision of the lessons of the Book of Common Prayer. Jan. 22^nd^, 1560/1.

[Printed in S.P. III. 46–8 and *Parker Corresp.* 132–4.]

[1] Mr Lawrence's troubles must have been somewhat protracted if a letter (B.M. Lans. MS. xxx. 50) to Burghley asking for the reinstatement of "M^r^ Lawrence, a preacher," refers to the same man, as probably it does. This letter is dated April 30th, 1580.

[2] The original has "Herle" for "Geste." In 1570 Herle is very tired of his office [*Parker Corresp.* 365].

[3] No year given.

[4] The original has "Darker" for "Corker."

23. 1561? "A copie of a Supplication to her Ma^tie the third yeare of her raigne or theraboutes[1]."

This piteous complaint of "the more parte of the Commons" of England, Wales, Ireland and the Marches to the Queen—God's vicegerent—sets forth the "miserable injuries" of the petitioners as follows[2]:—

1. The placing of ministers who are ignorant of the Scriptures, and therefore unable to feed the people with the bread of life, and to give them that knowledge which alone can save them from eternal damnation. These men are dumb dogs and idle shepherds, utterly unable to help the people, and yet they are given "fat liveinges."

2. The admission of ministers of perverse and corrupt judgment, unreformed and unsound in doctrine. It would be better for parishes to be destitute of a pastor than to have these, for they are but "covetous hypocrites who defile the church and lead men astray." They really belong to the "wicked Church of Rome," which is not the Church of God, but rather the source

"from which all wicked sorcerie, witchcraft, spirituall blindnes, ignorance, pride, covetousnes proceeded, wherwith all Realmes have bene poisoned."

3. The placing of ministers, who while godly, learned and sincere, are also covetous, and have purchased Licences for Plurality of Benefices. These Pluralities come from Rome, and are a danger to Christendom and a dishonour to God, while ministers with more than one living seek to feed themselves rather than their flocks.

4. Non-residency. Many of the clergy are absent altogether from their charges, some of them attending on the Queen or the nobility, as if the service of a living creature were of more importance than keeping the souls of God's people from the Devil's assaults. Christ called these "runagates" and "fugitive shepherds" thieves, and it is robbery for a man to

[1] Although the heading of the document says "the third yeare of her raigne or theraboutes," yet the supplication seems to be more in line with those of twenty years later.

[2] Scripture references are given throughout.

take a stipend from a church he never sees, and from parishioners he never teaches. In spite of Henry VIII's law, it is wrong for noblemen to keep such clergy and thus to murder the souls of the people.

The Queen is therefore asked to provide for the making and execution of laws against non-residency, in order that spiritual thieves, who rob God's children of food, might be punished.

5. The admission of men to the ministry who are learned only in civil and canon law, and know nothing of God's Word, the only rule for the Church.

"Gods admonition to magistrates" follows[1], and the Queen is told that civil laws are only to be obeyed if they are in accordance with the Word of God; she must therefore obey Christ's commands, and see that only fit men enter the ministry. Ignorant and careless pastors are the cause of all Popish blindness, and so she must send out labourers to the harvest, "labourers that can labour,...and not idle and ignorant vagabonds," able and learned preachers, and not "blinde guides and soule murtherers." Many of the people have no shepherds at all to keep away the wolves, and so they die, and therefore the Queen must send help speedily.

"Suffer not so manie of your subjects and people of God to be damned eternallie for want of preachers of Gods Word, because you will not take from unlearned clergie that which thei possesse unrighteouslie, but rather have mercie on us, and suffer not manie to perish through the default of a few."

24. 1562. Letters concerning John Sanderson[2], Fellow of Trinity College, and Reader of Logic Lecture, Cambridge. [C.C.C.C. 106. 220–8.]

1. Robert Beaumont, Master of Trinity, to Archbishop Parker (Oct. 4th, 1562).

John Sanderson has been expelled for superstitious doctrine and contempt of authority.

[1] This is a fine piece of pleading, which one would like to have given in full.

[2] *Ath. Cant.* II. 351.

2. Alexander Nowell to same (Oct. 10th).

Has been affronted by Sanderson, who is backed by the Fellows and others, who intend to secure his restoration. The question is not merely whether Sanderson should be Fellow, but whether there should be order or riot, Truth or Papistry.

3. The Vice-Chancellor to the Bishop of Ely and other Commissioners (Oct. 4th).

The case of Sanderson is still depending in the Chancellor's Court, and the interference of the Commissioners is a breach of the University privileges.

4. "How the matter issued I cant find, but find these verses."

Latin verses by Sanderson follow.

25. 1565. "Depositions concerninge Mr Broklesly, the first[1] put out of his liveinge for the surplice. 3° April Anno 1565."

The deponents are Robert Shadd, Richard Besowth, John Hogge, George Hern, Robert Pope and Richard Pope. Some or all of these testify to the truth of the answers to eight articles.

1. The Vicar had said baptism by women was against the Scriptures.

2. He had said in church that while "some were alwey sparninge againste priests wives...St John the Baptiste was a priests sonn."

3. He had said that "in time of ministration, he was above the Queene." Nevertheless, he "doth duelye pray for the queenes matie in service tyme."

4. Though the deponents have come regularly to church, they have never heard the Vicar use these words[2].

5. The Vicar had said that "Our Lady was begotten in sinne, conceived in sinne, and borne in sinne," that "she was a

[1] It has generally been assumed that Thomas Sampson was the first to be deprived. It seems, however, that while he and others appeared before the Commissioners on March 3rd, judgment was not given against them until April 29th. [*Ath. Cant.* II. 44.]

[2] The words of the articles are not given, and so it is not clear to what Nos. 4 and 7 refer.

lump of sinne as other women are," and was redeemed by Christ's passion. He called her "by the name of the blessed virgin Mary, and never otherwise."

6. He held that the churching of women was superstitious.

7. This article is true[1].

8. In an exposition, the Vicar spoke of "stinkeinge and abhominable rags," but the deponents cannot tell what he meant by this.

26. 1566 &c. A Letter from Cecil to Parker (Dec. 21st, 1566), enclosing a writing by the Bishop of Rochester, "written before he was bishop."

The writing sets forth Guest's views on Ceremonies, Vestments, &c., &c. The original is in C.C.C.C. (106. 137), and it has been printed by Strype (*Annals*, II. i. 459–64), and Dugdale (*Life of Guest*, 1840, App. iv.).

27. 1566. A copy of a letter from Bullinger and Gualter, dated Sept. 10th, 1566. The letter, which is to Bishops Grindal and Horne, is printed in Pocock's Burnet (vi. 509–11); Pocock says the original has no date.

28. [1566?] "The mynisters reasons for refusinge the apparell."

"Reasons grounded upon the Scriptures wherby we are perswaded not to admit the use of the outward apparell and mynistring garmentes of the Popes Churche."

These are not very important. They are given almost in full in Neal, 174–6 *n.*

29. 1567. "London. Dr Turners[2] argumentes against Popish ceremonies."

"The examination of this proposition, that no parishioner ought to heare the prechinge of his shepherd or other common prechers that ether they lyve not according to theyr prechinge, or kepe any abrogated ceremonyes, or use any severall kynd of garment which popes and other superstitious men have devised and brought into the churche without any autoritie of the word of God. Although the same shepherd and prechers do prech that Jesus is Christ and

[1] Cf. p. 52, note 2. [2] William Turner, Dean of Wells. (See *D.N.B.*)

the only Saviour of the worlde and that the pope is the right antichrist and that the messe is abomynable and full of foule idolatry."

On the back is the endorsement:

"An argument made by D^r^ Turnour againste popish ceremonies reteyned in a reformed church. And also againste those that refuse to heare the gospell preached of such as weare the popish Englishe apparell."

The trend of the article may be gathered from these headings. While there is much strong language about "Antichrist and his damnable sacrifice," Turner aims at showing that in many cases in Old and New Testaments[1] evil and superstitious priests were used by God, and therefore God will still use such, and His people should not absent themselves from services where they officiate. The last portion of the treatise is an exposition of Joshua 6^{24}, where Jericho is burnt with fire, but certain vessels are kept for the house of the Lord. Turner is in the difficult position of having to confute those who quote this passage in support of the retention of Popish ceremonies, while at the same time he desires to justify the use of some things received from the ancient church. By a considerable degree of sophism, and by dragging in the story of Achan, he achieves his end; those who retain images and shrines, "vestments, copes and surplesses,...all popishe monkerye and idolatrous messe," are guilty of Achan's sin, but it is right to use "the churches wherein idolatrye was commytted," and "the Universities or scholes founded by popes," and to apply the wealth of the Popish Church to the maintenance of ministers and the support of students.

30. 1568. "The copie of a writing delivered to the prisoners of Brydewell the 5 of December 1568 by M^r^ Tho. Lever, precher[2]."

The prisoners have requested Lever's opinion in writing on the points concerning which he conferred with them, and he therefore sends it. He says:

"by Gods grace I mynde and purpose to avoyde the square capp,

[1] As a sample of his illustrations, note the conclusion of his exposition of Malachi 2, "If they ought not to have hard Aron, Malachye is a lyer, which no christian man will say."

[2] For Lever see *D.N.B.*

the surplice, the kneeling at the Communion, and such like garments and rits, as things that now serve not to edification, decency, or order, but to offence, dissension and division in the Church of Christe, and as garments or rits belonging to the popish priesthood in the Church of Antichrist."

To the clean all things are clean, however, and therefore he will not judge others for using these things. Also the Church of England has the Gospel preached and the Sacraments administered truly "in matters of substance," and therefore it is part of the Church of Christ, and for the ceremonies no man ought to leave it.

"Therfore I thinke the aforesaide rits and garments be things not uncleane of themselves, nor thei a just cause that every preching mynister and assemblie where thei be, for them should be utterly refused or judged unlawfull. Yet do I my self not use them because I feare much to give great offence, and can not hope any thing to edifie by the use of them, and for using or refusing of them, I do not judge others. But the urging or observing them more than Gods commaundements, I utterly condemne as breaking or neglecting of Gods commaundments for mens traditions."

31. [1568.] "A Letter written to M^r^ Knoxe."

To John Knox, from an English Separatist. See Lorimer's *John Knox*, &c., 298–300, where the letter is printed in full.

32—3. [1567–71?] Two treatises by a member of a Separatist Congregation. In many places the treatises agree sentence by sentence, and there is little doubt but that these are from the same pen.

1. "The causes and reasons out of the mighty worde of God that do move us and ought to move all others which are throughly perswaded that the whole religion of papistry is filthy Idolatry, not to consent or be present in prayer and hearing the word of God, neither to communicate with those that do either receive or mainteine the remnants, reliques and levings of the pope and papistry."

Fifteen "causes and reasons" are given. The "remnantes" are contrary to God's Word, and accursed and abominable, having been used to maintain Papistry and idolatry. They keep an estimation and remembrance of Popery, and thus their "users, maintainers, and receivers" are deceivers of men, and so "accursed and abhominable" also. Many texts are quoted to prove that it is wrong to communicate with those who use

the remnants; God's commandment is that all should "go forward to perfection," and the "filthy rags" bring "the heavenly word of our eternall Lord God into bondage, subjection and slavery."

The ninth reason reads:

"These popish garments are now become very Idols indeed, becaus that when any mynister is alowed, thei do not onely make him protest, as by their advertisments doth appeare, that he shall observe, keepe, and maintaine such order and uniformity in all externe policies, rits, and ceremonies of the Church as by the lawes, good orders, and usages are allready provided, which indeed do confirme these filthy raggs as are onely devised and thrust into the Church by these Antichristian popes of Rome. So that by this meanes the Ceremonies of Antichrist are extolled and the preaching of the Gospell of our God and his holy Sacraments are made subject unto them. But allso when thei licence any to prech, he shall not do the message of our God, but so farre forthe as thei licence him, which is, not to touch any matter of this controversy, so that by this meanes, these abhominations are alowed by silence, or else maintained by preching contrary to these Scriptures of our Lord God; Amos $7^{10ff.}$; Ex. 8^{28}; Isa. 30^{9}; Jer. 11^{21} &c. &c."

The last reason given is practically the same, word for word, as a declaration[1] in the second treatise. It reads:

"I have now joyned my self to the Church of Christ wherin I have yielded my selfe subject to the discipline of Gods Word as I promised at my Baptisme, which if I should now again forsake and joyne my self with the traditioners, I should then forsake the union wherein I am knyt with the body of Christ and joyne myselfe to the discipline of Antichrist. For in the church of the traditioners there is none other Discipline, but that which hath bene ordeined by the Antichristian popes of Rome, wherby the Church of God hath allwaies benn afflicted, and is to this day, for which I refuse them."

Again, in a book[2] allowed by the Commissioners according to the Queen's Injunctions, Beza says that a Church without discipline "is nought but a schoole of all wickednes and a licentious life." Yet discipline is not established.

Finally, for the sake of "cavelling adversaries," the reasons

[1] This declaration is identical with that made by William Drewett in 1581 (below, No. 100), and it also appears (under 1573) in a document printed from the Petyt MSS. (Vol. 538. 47, f. 511) by Strype [*Parker* II. 284]. But see below, p. 57, note 1.

[2] The Exhortation to the Prince of Condé.

are drawn into five questions, which ask whether all things in the Prayer Book and the Church are according to God's Word, and whether preachers ought to be persecuted and imprisoned for obeying their consciences, &c.

2[1]. This has no heading, but is subscribed[2], "Fare ye well, my deere brethren, all you that beleve in Jesus Christ."

Having once escaped from the "filthiness" of Antichrist, with his "detestable traditions" and "idolatrous trashe," the writer and his friends are "going forward to perfection." They have joined with others in prayer and hearing God's Word, and in spite of the danger threatening them for not attending their parish church, they intend to continue their meetings and not "come back againe to the preachings of them that have receaved the marke of the Romish beast."

Thus they are now subject to the discipline of God's Word, without which "the whole buylding of necessitie must needes come to ruin," and the church be filled with "licentious and wicked sinners."

He that doeth the Lord's work negligently is accursed, and,

"seeing it hath pleased God to geve all true Christians a priviledge to seeke a true reformation in religion, and to flee and avoyde all polutions of antichrist, choosing of ministers, elders, and deacons, whosoever goeth about to hinder and slaunder this good cause, the dogges shall eate his fleshe and licke his blood without the honour of a sepulchre. Take heed, therefore, you calking cavillers, you moungrels, slidebacks, hyrelings and tymeservers, with your tryfling

[1] The beginning of this item is identical with the beginning of the second of the "Fitz" papers in the Record Office [S.P.D. Eliz. Add. xx. 107 ii], which is printed by Mr Burrage [*Early Eng. Dissenters*, 1912, II. 13–5], and called by him, "The Separatist Covenant of Richard Fitz's Congregation." Apparently, Mr Burrage does not know the manuscript quoted by Strype (above, p. 56, note 1), which consists of the black-letter paper he prints (practically verbatim), plus the declaration given above, the latter appearing between the nine reasons and the final paragraph. The manuscript Strype saw had this endorsement by Archbishop Parker: "To this protestation the congregation singularly did swear, and after took the Communion for ratification of their assent." [S.P. II. 285.] It is headed, "The Protestacoñ of the Puritanes."

[2] A Contents list describes the article:—"The private churches against popish ceremonies."

toyes which be but apishe, least you drinke of the cuppe of Gods wrathe with the Papists."

The great aim of all Christians should be the pure administration of the Sacraments, and the establishment of the true discipline according to God's Word. In striving for these things, believers will suffer, for they will be slandered and accounted the Queen's enemies.

"Neverthelesse, this is out of doute, that the Quenes highnes hath not authoritie to compell anie man to beleeve any thing contrary to Gods word, nether may the subject geve her grace the obedience, in case he do his soule is lost for ever without repentaunce. Our bodyes, goodes, and lives be at her commaundement, and she shall have them as of true subjects. But the soule of man for religion is bound to none but unto God and his holy word."

Jesus commanded that all plants which His Father had not planted should be rooted up, but instead of this being obeyed,

"Antichrist, the Pope of Rome, this name is banished out of England, but his body, which be the bishops and other shavelings do not only remayne, but also his tayle, whiche be his filthy traditions, wicked lawes, and beggerly ceremonies,...yea, and the whole body of his pestiferous canon lawe....And, deerely beloved in the Lord, you go to your parish churche, and ther stand up and say, I beleve in God, yet you do but mocke with God so long as you walke in those wicked lawes of Antichriste and mainteyne his knightes the bishops with such inordinat riches and unlawfull autoritie, so long shall you never banishe the monstruous beast the Pope, out of England."

Thus "by the craft and tyrannie of the bishops" the things we say we have cast out are cherished and maintained, and those who protest and "stand faithfully" to Christ's commands are imprisoned and "called heretickes, scysmatikes, rebells, puritanes." The "cold gospellers" do not proclaim God's judgments on "popishe abominable leavings and lawes" because they fear the loss of their livings, punishment of the body, and persecution. But persecution and suffering have ever been the lot of the godly, and those who stand firm will conquer sin and death, and gain eternal life.

"I mighte here say more, but I trust this shall be sufficient to all suche as have any sparke of faith, love, and true feare of God. As for the rest,...whatsoever any man ether writte or say, they will surely dissemble one way or other to save their pigges, yea though

they do put their names in the Popes bookes. Well, yet say not another day but that ye were warned, and though it were by a simple unlearned man, yet it by him that wisheth well to all your soules. And one that in this point hath told you the trueth. I pray you, dearely beloved, beare with my simple writing, for the very necessitie hath caused me for the avoyding of lyes and sclaunders."

34. [1568–71 ?] A Letter of "John Browne, Minister."

[Subscribed. "Written the 18th of March, Yours in the Lord to the death."]

Browne's greeting reads:

"Grace, mercy, and peace, for harty salutations be with you, deare Brethren, if you will be felow labourers with the Brethren according to God his worde etc."

He then states the purpose of his letter, viz. to consider

"the question between us, which is to know the best way how to builde the lordes house, as allso who thei be that either hinder it, or pull it downe."

Many who claim to build the Lord's house destroy it, or build houses for themselves, while those whom he addresses

"refuse your place and standinge in this buildinge, and stande still as lookers on, and do nothing therin except to the plucking downe of the same; as you do by seperating, when as you will not joyne with us according to his worde;...can our Master and Lord be pleased with this? No, surely, except you take your place in this building againe, and become faithfull and diligent labourers therin. Yea, and some of you do not onely by example and in deed breake downe that which you and we have once builded together, but allso by wordes, when as you have sayde you would never joyne with us againe. But I hope you will not so litle weigh and consider the terrible and most fearfull saying of our Saviour....No man that putteth his hand to the plough (or building of Gods house), and looketh backe is apt to the kingdome of God."

It is no good to say you build with us in silence and sympathy[1]; that is impossible, for Christ says every man must take up his cross and follow, and you must bear the heat and burden of the day before you can partake of the fruits of the vineyard.

[1] "I call your building private in comparison of that it was when you occupied your office in this Church together with the rest of your brethren."

This "private assembling of yourselves together...hindereth Gods glorie," and it is no small matter "to divide yourselves from a christian Congregation gathered together according to his Word," for thus you separate "yourselves from salvation."

"Now I would in God that seeing not onely that you have professed the Gospell, but allso have borne some burthen with your brethren, and have suffred both heat and sweat, yea, and in plucking up the weedes, the thornes have pricked you very sharply. But if you should now refuse to plucke up the weedes for fear of pricking with the thornes, you should then shew yourselves to have begun in the spirite and end in the flesh, which God forbid.

Alas, with what hart can you alow that sentence among others which compareth the small congregation that is gathered together in this city to Naboths vineyeard, which whosoever doth dissolve or breake up, the doggs shall lick his bloud, without the honour of a sepulchre, with what face or hart, I say, can you allow this sentence?

Seeing you are no small occasions yourself of the dissolving or breaking up of this litle vineyeard or Church of God, for through your ensample the weake are driven backe, the reste are kept in a stay, the godly are grieved, and the enemies rejoice and say that you have a Church alone by your selves, and Fitz hath another by himself etc. So that thei account 4 or 5 Churches divided one from another, so that one of them either cannot or will not joyne one with another. But woe be unto them (saith our Saviour Christ) by whome offence come etc.

For where was it ever seene in time of persecution, when a companie were gathered together out of divers places into one felowshipp, and had suffred for the truth together, that it should be lawfull for them to be divided into divers and sundry felowshippes or Congregations, so that either thei will not or can not come together."

Both the Scriptures and the Primitive Church speak against such separation.

"Whosoever either doth excommunicate himself, or is excommunicated by other...is counted no member of Christ[1]."

Neither should assemblies take place privately, "the doors being shut for fear of the Jews," but openly before all men, "for their crueltie shalbee our glorie to suffer for Gods religion."

[1] A marginal note reads: "And what you have judged of that, being excommunicate, will not reconcile himselfe againe, might appeare in the wordes you spake to me for keepinge of company with Evans." [Possibly this is the Evans mentioned in Grindal's letter to Cecil, May 8th, 1568. (Grindal, *Remains*, 295.)]

"If you will not thus come together, as of late you have done, shutting the doors for feare of the Jewes, I may say unto you, as St Paul doth to the Corinthians, that of this I warne you and commend you not, that you come together to hurt and not to profit; and I hate the worke of them that fall awaye, it shall not cleave unto mee (Ps. 101), and if any withdrawe himself, my soule shall have no pleasure in him (Heb. 10)."

No "papist or neuter" has reason to rejoice in the condition of "Gods scattered and persecuted flock," for Christ is near His people when they are carrying a cross. To find a stumbling block in the failings of one's fellow members in the Church, to be unable to bear their imperfections, is to be like the Donatists, believing in a separation from the world; such an attitude is caused by the Devil puffing them up with pride. Let us then all join together "even as one man," provoking each other to good works, each esteeming other better than himself; so shall God's house be built in all its glory. Let all who hinder the same remember the "terrible threatning" of God [Ezek. 6$^{11f.}$], "from which threatning God deliver us."

35. [.] A Letter to M^{r} Browne, &c.

An item without heading or date. It consists of:

1. A Letter to "M^{r} Browne, Minister of the Word of God," evidently a strong Puritan.

"...That with Prayer I desire of God to grant the Bps. that they may obey the Holy Ghost speaking by St Paul in Rom. 14, 15, and that you and the rest may in like manner obey...[the same], and then whosoever or whichsoever of you is strong will beare with the other which is weake, and then againe, whichsoever of you is weake will not judge him that is strong, for every one standeth or falleth to his Lord.

For the Kingdome of God is not meate, drinke, nor apparell, but Righteousnes, Peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. God grant we may finde this in our conscience and all outward things [ ][1].... Remembred be unto a Christian, at liberty to use or refuse, as he may winn any to Christ Jesus, and he that denieth this denieth the Christian Liberty, whereby the peace of the Church of Christ is nourished, maintained and kept; and in place of the Christian liberty raiseth up a Papesticall Bondage of Meates, of Drinkes &c.... The one side binding men to receive them. The other binding men to refuse them, and thus taketh the liberty which Christians ought to have in them quite away, and of this followeth, the one side will

[1] Blank in MS., which has many phrases missing.

not suffer those ministers which preach Jesus Christ truly unlesse they take them. Again the other will not hear them and will rather be forbidden and cease to preach Christ Jesus at all then to weare them. If St Paul doth not say unto both these parties as it is written in Gal. 4, I am in feare of you lest I have bestowed on you labour in vaine, my Judgement much faileth me. I beseech God take away this Bondage and grant the Liberty of things indifferent, as the Holy Ghost by St Paul commandeth...."

2. "Ten Questions put forth by M^r^ Browne...after the Receat of this Letter, and the same answered as followeth[1]."

Browne's position is that of the Puritan who "scruples the vestments," the answerer's that of the letter, *e.g.*

Q. 5. "Whether he denieth the Liberty of Christians that saith no Christian man should have to do with anything of Antichrist, yea or no?"

Ans. "He denieth the liberty of a Christian which doth not with St Paul becom like to all men to winn all men to Christ...."

6. "Can Gal. 4 be used against us as against the bishops?"

Ans. "When the Bps preferre wearing of the ceremonies before Preaching, and you preferre the not wearing of the ceremonies before Preaching, may I not say with Paul in Gal. 4...."

9. "Whether God doth hate Papisme and Neutratisme, and which of these two Religions is maintained in England, or neither of them, yea or no?"

Ans. "Papisme and Neutratisme lie not in meat and drink...." If ministers prefer the not using of ceremonies to the preaching of the Word, they may be suspected of these things.

36. [.] "Certaine sentences of a letter sent by a certaine brother, a mynister, from Geneva."

The duty of English Christians is to follow the example and government of the apostles and martyrs.

"Seeing that God hath given you the priviledge to build and to choose mynisters, elders, and deacons, and to refuse a false uniformitie,"

it is not

"a sufficient discharge to remaine in open and manifest impurity and deformation, because the magistrats stay you."

They must give no help to the devil's work, but remove "everie jote" of papistry.

"Make yourselves stronge as well against the secreat disguised Antichrist, as against the open name of Bonner and papists,"

[1] A Contents List has: "M^r^ Brownes Questions and M^r^ Sherington's Answears."

for

"the time is at hand that the utter memorie of Babilon shall be condemned to hell."

To hold any part of Antichrist is to hold the whole, and the bishops, if once they did good work, now look back to Sodom.

"...Wherfore, dearly beloved in the Lord, I beseech you consider that to abide in the assemblies of these Bishops, which do labour to stay you, and are purposed to fullfill and finish the subtill devise of Sathan, is with them to consent against the expresse building of the Apostles and Martirs, which you have seene and lived in, and wherunto you your selves were labouring and travailing, and out of the which they have cast you etc.; partly by subtill devises and power, and partly by you[r] owne foolish and light credite that you have and holde of them etc. Weigh then that to receave the Sacraments and heare their prechings with them is to encourage and to alow and agree to them....

Therfore it is verie expedient to begin the worke of buildinge in an other place, folowing the example of the erection of the Apostles, leaving these mens sermons and preachings as those that turne you to the purpose of themselves, and by which you are compelled in this confusion, wherin papists and Lutherans are mingled together to the hindrance of the pure and perfect example, to separate yourselves that your building...may...go forward....The breach of peace and unity is theirs, that seeke to stay you with them that are not in the unity of Martirs, nor lust not to come therto etc."

If they ask why, if some part of their doctrine is good, you do not hear it, answer that this would only confirm them in their evil ways, but that you are willing to affirm every speck of truth with them, so long as you do not betray the cause of Christ.

With their false doctrine, their cross at baptism, their kneeling at communion, etc., the bishops have not built well, and so have destroyed the unity of the Church.

"Such things and every of them that are not brought into the Congregation by good and lawfull consent, but by tyranny, and is [*sic*] therfore not to be obeied, but may as lawfully be refused as thei can commaund it, and much more lawfullie etc.

And as touching their cruell dealings in these our daies, it is manifestly knowne to the whole world that it is worse than in the papists times, and as touching what may come to passe to them, I leave them to the Lord....Therfore be patient whatsoever shall come to passe, for the lords sake."

37. 1569. A letter from William White[1] to Bishop Grindal.

The letter is subscribed:

"Yours in the lord to commaund William White, who joineth with you in every speck of truth, but utterly detesteth whole Antichrist, head, body and taile, never to joyne with you or any in the least joynt therof, nor in any ordinaunce of man contrary to the word of God by his grace unto the Church."

White writes to express his disapproval of certain words of the Bishop and of the latter's severity with those called before him on Dec. 19th, 1569.

1. The Bishop seemed to favour the view that if discipline tended to destroy peace and unity, it should not be admitted into the Church. Against this White places the command of Christ, the example of the Apostles, and the opinions of learned men.

"Our master Christ commaundeth discipline as one part of the Gospell, most necessary to keepe his Churche in peace and order; the Apostles obediently used the same in their Churche as the onely meane to mainteine unity and order. ..Also Mr Calvin sayeth: to punish synne according to the word of the Lorde is the best maintenance of health, bond of peace, and foundation of order; he calleth the doctrine of salvation the soule of the Church, and discipline as sinewes, wherby each member hangeth together, the lacke wherof is not onely a mayme to the Church, but allso procureth God to punish the whole people for the same. Wherfore sayeth he: Let no Church lacking discipline flatter itself as though it were a small and a light fault, for whosoever dothe either desire to have discipline taken away or hinder the restoring therof, whether it be of set purpose, or of oversight, doth seeke the verie extreme dissipation of Gods Church....With whom Mr Beza agreeth, saying, Where discipline lacketh, there is a licentious life and a schoole of wickednes."

To refuse to admit discipline, therefore, is to disobey Christ's command, to act contrary to the practice of the Apostles, and to ignore the teaching of learned and saintly men, and this will bring a heavy punishment.

2. "You seemed to be offended with a late exercise of prayer and fasting, saying that you had not heard of any exercise of fasting and prayer without consent of publique authority."

The people of Nineveh proclaimed a fast, however, and their

[1] See the present writer's paper on White [*Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.* (1913)].

king did not blame them for going before him in well-doing. Much less, therefore, should Christian magistrates condemn their zealous subjects.

"And your self allso by the authority of Gods word, ought rather to have commended and defended the zeale of such pastors and people, than at the complaint of a parasite to cast their pastor into prison without hearing his cause either before or after. No doubt you are abused by such flatterers, for ther was never yet any thing so evill commaunded by authority but ther have bene allway some flatterers to defend it, as I feare a sorte of parasits and forked flattering claw-backs do you in these matters without whose diligent calling upon these extremityes are not wrought."

3. "You sayde you feared not to appeare before God for wearing this apparell, and that with a better conscience and more knowledge then we, and I have heard that you would never aske Gods mercy for using them, or like wordes in effect. Which is to[o] lamentable for to heare. For if we doinge the commaundement of God as perfectly as we can, must yet appeale to mercy, how much more for offending and persecuting the brethren. And at the first yourself sayde in a sermon, as many can witnesse, that you were sory, for that you knew you should offend many godly consciences by wearing the apparell, requiring your auditory to have patience for a time, for that you did but use them for a time to thend you might the sooner abolish them. And now instead of abolishing them, you not onelie have established them in yourselves, but allso in other, displacing, banishing, persecuting and imprysoning such as will not weare nor consent therunto...."

If it were better to have a millstone round the neck and be cast into the sea than offend Christ's children, how terrible a punishment must be theirs, who not only offend, but also persecute them.

"Better were it for you to leave your Lordly dignity not given you by Christ, to suffer afflictions with and for the syncerity and truth of the Gospell than by injoying therof to become a persecuter of your brethren, and that for manifest corruptions."

White says his brethren can be charged with "no false doctrine nor any heynous crime"; neither do they disobey God's Word, but "reject the remnantes of Antichrist and your owne civill superstitions and traditions to be joyned equall and above Gods commaundements."

Turner[1] is then quoted against those who put men's traditions above God's injunctions, and Grindal is asked to consider,

[1] Cf. above, p. 53.

"Whether you have bene or are more diligent in urging your owne traditions, and have afflicted moe within these 3 or 4 yers for refusing therof then you have bene these xi yeers in calling upon the keeping of Gods commaundements and punishing the breakers therof."

In concluding, White protests that all is written in the spirit of love and goodwill, and asks the Bishop to give "that liberty of conscience which once you did graunt us," and fight for the truth and Apostolic purity of the Gospel.

"And so much the rather sith it hath pleased God to move the harts of the privie Counsell to promise you their ayde in whatsoever your wisdomes see to be lacking in religion. So that now if ther be any lacke touching reformation it resteth onely in you."

All the Bishops, therefore, must labour that,

"all remnants, badges, and marks of Antichrist, with all plants which our heavenly father hath not planted may at once be plucked up by the roots, that Gods holy word may be the only rule and line to measure his religion by, and that all mans wisdome, policy, and good intents may so be troden under thobedience of Gods word...."

38. [.] Arguments against wearing the Surplice. [No name or heading.]

1. "It cannot be denyed that this surplice wearinge, together with such lyke traditions, have no grounde from God his word, but have bin badges, signes, and sacramentes of Idolatry and Idolatrous priestes, from which the farther we are off (as the Jewes from the Canaanitish abhominations), the purer and syncerer is our religion and ministery, and the greater bewtye they give unto that filthie religion and priestehoode, the more shame and ignominie they bringe unto Christs ministerie and religion. For Christe his religion and ministery is never more glorious then when it is sett forth simplie in his natyve and naturall bewtie without the abhominable paintinges and inventions of man."

2. It is wrong to offend the many "good brethren" who detest idolatry.

3. It is wrong to build again that which we have destroyed, and to fail to shake off "the whole masse of popish traditions."

4. It is wicked and foolish to conform on the plea of "bearinge with the time," for conformity will only serve to establish the detested things, and to place the inventions of man above the ordinances of God.

5. The vestments do not tend to order, comeliness, and edification, but the reverse.

"And as it were a wicked thinge to clothe Christes ministers in fooles coates and lighte apparell to the empeachinge of their gravitie, so is it much more wicked to thruste upon them the proper habite of those popish savered priestes...."

39. [.] "Certaine arguments for the disproving of all those Ceremonies in generall which have before time bene used in the time of papistrie and translated into our Liturgie."

1. Eleven arguments are given on the usual lines. The Word of God should come before the ceremonies of men; Christ refused to observe useless custom and traditions, and the Apostles, while tolerating certain Jewish ceremonies, never bore with idolatry; the vestments do not serve for comeliness and order; &c. &c.

The seventh argument is worthy of notice:

"...If we, having bene sometimes papists, do now frame our lives as protestants and not as papists, why constraine we the protestants, and especiallie their mynisters, to conforme to papists?"

2. An answer to these arguments, in the form of thirteen "denials." These are cleverly written, and the points are made definite and telling[1]. The writer bluntly contradicts the fundamental Puritan position in the words:

"We denie that there may be nothing in the Church which is not named expresselie in the Scriptures....We deny that whatsoever the Apostles did not, we must not do."

The Church, he says, is not prohibited from translating old ceremonies, or inventing new ones; the ceremonies of the Church are not preferred to the Word of God, neither are they those of idolaters.

3. A Reply to the Answer. Wordy and disappointing, criticising the writer of the reply, rather than meeting his arguments.

[1] The writer waxes eloquent over the Puritan method of discussion, and asks that any replies might be "sette downe as perfecte syllogismes," for he is too busy to read "great volumes" to find out the meaning! He points out that it is no argument to say:

"These Ceremonies are Idolatrous, because thei are Idolatrous, abhominable because thei are abhominable, popish because thei are popish."

"But you that have *un*answered the same, whom I know not, to whome I sent them not, as you count the matter of no importance, so have you runne it over perfunctorilie, ac velut in transcursu, saying, we denie this, and we denie that...."

4. "Certaine particular reasons against the Crossing of Children, omitted in the former argumentes."

40. [1570.] "A conference betwene M^r^ Axton[1] and the Bishopp of Leichfeild[2] with divers others."

Axton offers to state his case under three heads, viz.,

1. The priesthood of Aaron.
2. The priesthood of Antichrist. This is the "most weightie."
3. The wearing of the surplice.

He then endeavours to show that all "ceremonies of Aarons priesthood, which were figures of Christ to come, are abrogated," and that the surplice is one of these. He brings examples from the Scriptures in support of his claim, and to these the Bishop M^r^ Barker, and M^r^ Walton reply. Axton next claims that the Fathers did not wear "a white linen garment," and Cyprian, Jerome, and Chrysostom are quoted. When the Bishop suggests that they should turn to the "new writers," the Puritan replies:

"I beseeche you let us have Eusebius and Theodoretus and Socrates, and whatsoever can be alleadged out of any of them or out of any of the old writers. Let yt be brought forthe, and the places examyned, and I doubt nothing by the assistaunce of God his spirit to answeare easelye unto them all[3]."

The Bishop then quotes Peter Martyr, but Axton says Martyr held that the surplice was not indifferent, "but abhominable and filthie."

On the resumption of the conference after dinner[4], Axton is asked to state his reasons, and answers are promised. He points out that already the odds are against him, for they are

[1] *Ath. Cant.* I. 326–7. [2] Thomas Bentham.

[3] This characteristic Puritan pride in knowledge of the Fathers had already been shown by Axton. When Walker desired to quote Jerome, he had forgotten his reference, but the Puritan ostentatiously told him the place.

[4] Brook gives a part of the discussion from this point.

three or four in number, and there is no moderator, but nevertheless, he will state his case, and leave the issue to God and their consciences.

All the garments of Antichrist's priesthood, he says, are detestable, "even unto the button, and unto the loupe, unto the Cope and unto the Surplesse"; they have no necessary or profitable use, and therefore are unlawful.

The Bishop claims that the surplice is necessary and lawful because commanded by the Prince, and comely for the church, but Axton says "it is a moste wicked necessitye" that its use "is made causa sine qua non without the which a man maye not preache nor mynister the Sacramentes of what giftes or calling or godlie association soever he be," and asks, "What comelyness is it for the minister of God to wear the ragges of Antichrist." Further, the Reformed Churches do not use it, and Calvin, Beza, Luther, Martyr, and many others have disallowed it.

The Bishop says the surplices of the English Church were never used by "idolatrous priests," but Axton holds that in many places "massing surplices and copes"—which even the Bishops say are "accursed and abhominable"—are still used[1]. He maintains that seeing the surplices have been "badges of Antichrist" for 700 years, they cannot help but be so still.

Bentham still holds that the surplice is a "thing indifferent," and shocks the Puritan by asking why tapers, anointing oil, and other indifferent things should not be used, if commanded by the Prince[2]. Before the end of the first day's disputation, Axton complains that other "witnesse bearers" had been shut out from the conference, and then follows the conversation:

Axton. "For my part my conscience is nothing afraid to have these thinges sett downe in writing that hath bene said on both

[1] To the Bishop's statement:—"Then we will have yt made shorter than theirs, or longer, or wider sleeves or narrower," Axton answers:—"That is but a simple shifte, and yet you knowe that almost all the surplices in the Churches of England are like the papistes surplices."

[2] Brook gives the substance of a long argument, but does not copy verbatim. Walton puts forward a point frequently made against the Puritans, viz., if things used by the Papists must not be retained, it is wrong to worship in their churches and preach from their pulpits.

partes, that some others that are both godlie and learned might consider of them."

The Chancellor. "Yea, you would have these things in printe also, I am sure, would you not?"

A. "I thought of no such thing, but for my owne memorye and the witnes of the truthe and the sinceritye of mine owne conscience I am not ashamed that some notes of these things were taken and should come to the examination of the godlye."

The next subject discussed was the use of the sign of the cross in baptism. Axton says this is an addition to the institution of Christ, but the Bishop says minor points like this are left to the liberty of the church. The Puritan replies that the people are so ignorant that they think the making of the sign the essential part of baptism, and there is no one to teach them better; thus the Cross is becoming a "horrible Idoll even in the seate of Jesus Christe."

"...Yf you were in the countrye and hard all; yf you had anie feare of God or zeale to his glory, your eares would tingle to heare the grosse and superstitious speaches of the people; and so thei will speake of the common confirmation of their children that they have not their perfect christendome without yt [the sign of the cross]. I tell you this is the opynion of a thousand in Shropshire, and looke to yt, for yf by your practise they shalbe still nourished, the people will more and more fall awaye from God into a seconde poperye that wilbe worse then the first."

After mentioning the question of kneeling at Communion, the Bishop suddenly asks Axton his opinion of episcopacy[1]. The Puritan says he cannot be legally compelled to answer on oath, but Bentham taunts him with opinions previously expressed, viz. "that every mynister of God was a bushopp, and to be a bushopp was nothing els but to be a mynister of God," and that "no bishoppes in England had any authoritye to excommunicate any man for any cryme."

Axton says he is ready to die for these principles, which accord with the Word of God and his conscience. He tells the Bishop that he (Bentham) is not lawfully called to the ministry for three reasons.

1. He had not "the laying on of handes of the Eldershipp," the three or four English Bishops who ordained him not being

[1] Here Neal's paraphrase begins.

elders after the Apostolical pattern. Then follows this conversation:

B. "By what eldershipp were *you* chosen mynister? had you not the laying on of the handes of some of the bushoppes of Englande?"

A. "I had indeed the laying on of the handes of one of the bushoppes of Englande, but that was the least parte of my callinge."

B. "But what calling had you more?"

A. "This. I having exercised and expounded the word divers tymes in an ordinarye assemblie of half a score preachers, they joyning in praier and being required to speake their conscience in the presence of God, upon suche former triall as they had of me whether they were perswaded that I mighte become a profitable labourer in the house of God, thei all gave their voices and free consent thereunto[1]. After which consent I also receaved the layinge on of handes of the bushopp."

2. He was not ordained to a single congregation, but was over a whole diocese. Axton defines a congregation as "that people which maye ordinarilie assemble together unto one place to heare the word of God," and says *he* would refuse to be pastor of a parish six or seven miles long.

3. He was not "chosen to be a governor of the Churche of God by the election of the people," according to Acts 14^{23}.

To this attack on the Bishop's office, the Chancellor responds by a counter attack.

C. "Whye, howe came you to be Parson of Moreton Corbett?"

A. "I am no parson."

C. "What are you? Vicker?"

A. "No, I am no Vicker. I abhorr these names as Antichristian. I am *pastor* of the congregation there."

C. "Are you neither parson nor vicker? Howe hold you the livinge there?"

A. "I do receave these temporall thinges of the people because I, beinge their pastor, do mynister unto them spirituall thinges."

C. "If you wilbe neither parson nor vicker, you muste reape no fruites there."

The Bishop and Chancellor continue to urge that if Axton refuses the name of parson or vicar, he cannot hold the living. They then ask how he became pastor.

[1] Axton admits that these ministers did not lay hands on him, but this was through accident, while the Bishop's ordination was "unperfect through want of the substance."

A. "Accordinge to the Word of God, by the free election of the people."

B. "Whye, did not the patrones place you there?"

A. "The patron gave the people a free election of their pastor, and after I had contynued with the people six weekes or thereabouts and had some experience of them, and they likewise of me, (a sermon being made by one of my brethren wherein was conteined the dutye of the Pastor towardes the people and the dutye of the people towardes their pastor), I was chosen with one consent of them all to be their pastor."

The Puritan goes on to deny the right of the Bishops to ordain ministers, for they neither obtain the consent of the eldership, test candidates as to their character, learning, or ability to preach, nor ordain them to a definite congregation[1]. The Bishop says:

"I admitt none to the mynisterie but I have the letters of some noble man or worshipfull gentleman in their commendations."

And Axton responds:

"Ah, hinc illae lachrimae! Beware how you breake the institution of God. This is a doore open to lett in all theeves and robbers. God give you repentaunce and a more sounde conscience hereafter to keepe hirelinges out of the Churche of God, by whom ther is dailie a moste lamentable slaughter of the soules of God his people."

Eventually, the Bishop offers a compromise in the words:

"M^r^ Axton, you shall yelde somewhat unto me, and I will lykewise yeld unto you what I can. For the crosse in baptisme, I will never require of you, and for the surplesse, yf you will weare it but some tymes, or but twise or thrise, or yf you will weare it but once, I will urge you no further."

The minister refuses this offer, saying it was against both the Word of God and his conscience, for the surplice was "a polluted and a cursed marke of the Beaste." Asked if he would leave his flock for this small matter, he retorts by asking if they would persecute him and drive him from the people he loved for a surplice. He says he entered the living by righteous means, and not by simony, and it would be easier to drive a king from his kingdom than himself from his flock.

The Bishop decides to postpone the threatened deprivation until a further conference on Nov. 22^nd^, when, in the presence

[1] He admits that the Archbishop's regulations on these points are good, but holds they are not enforced.

of D^r^ Bickley, M^r^ Sale and M^r^ Weston, he addresses the Puritan thus:

"You have had heretofore, first more private Conference with my selfe, and after more publike with two or three preachers, but you seeme to be nothinge removed from your owne former opynion. Yea, you are so farr from wearing the surplesse that you do utterly condemne the same and all those that do weare yt. And allthough by your rashe doeinges and for you, I have receaved a great check of the privye Counsell, yet whereby you have deserved at my handes to have extremitye at the first, I have borne with you untill nowe."

After discussing the use of organs and "curious singing," talk drifts to the power of the Prince in religious matters. Axton says that while he is a loyal subject, he would withstand any ruler who commanded crosses and Popish trash.

The Bishop answers that Axton and those who thought with him are worse than Papists,

"for the papistes are afraid to stirr or to saye any thinge, but you as wonderfull presumptuous and bold, feare no man, and you disquiet us and the whole state more then the papistes."

The minister says that he fears God, and not those who have power to kill the body. He indignantly repudiates the charge of disloyalty, and protests that he prays every day for the Queen, and for the overthrow of her enemies, "especiallie the Papistes."

"And are you nowe come unto this, to be more offended with us then with the Papistes. Whereas the papistes have contynually these 12 yeares wrought great and daungerous treason against hir Ma^tie^, againste the state, and againste the gospell, and do worke at this present daye, and yet these thinges do little greeve you."

The Bishop answers that refusal to wear the surplice is equivalent to a denial of the Royal Supremacy, and goes on:

"I have had more said unto me of the privye Counsell and of hir Ma^tie^ her selfe againste you, especially for those thinges which you have said unto me, then I have had against any in the land."

Discussion then turns on the Queen's position in the church, and her right to preach and administer the Sacraments[1]. Axton

[1] Many passages from the Scriptures and the Fathers are quoted. Incidentally the Puritan condemns corrupt translations, and asks for Tremelius's Bible or for that of Geneva.

is told that he speaks "very confidentelie and rashlie," and has "an arrogant spirite," and

"so they brake off with Non plus, and the good man was deprived of his living and chardg, being driven thereupon to seeke another cuntrye."

41. 1571. The Articles of 1571[1].

"The Articles of 1571. Agree with ours that are now Extant in number, only the Article about the Authority of the Church is not in these; And in Article 29, instead of Partaking of the Body of Christ, it is here a Communion of the Body of Christ, and a Communion of the Bloud of Christ.

In the close of all it is thus written:

We Archbishops and Bishops of either Province of this Realme of England Lawfully gathered together in this Provinciall Synod holden at London, with Continuations and Prorogations of the same, do Receive, Professe, and Acknowledge these XXXVIII Articles before written in XIX pages..., to containe True and Sound Doctrine, and do approve and ratifie the same by the subscription of our hands the 11th May...1571...."

The subscribers are:—the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Winchester, Hereford, Ely, Worcester, Salisbury, Rochester, Bangor, Chichester, Lincoln, and Exeter.

42. [1571 ?][2] "Gilbert Alcocks Supplication to the Convocation House."

Alcock writes to tell how his heart and conscience are troubled to see "how manie good people are vexed and troubled with the Ceremonies retained and urged upon them by lawe." He claims that while the Scriptures teach that Christians should obey Christ's will, love all men, preach the Gospel, and keep the golden rule, the ceremonies cause the blind to stumble, the obstinate to become more stubborn, the faithful to be persecuted, the Papists to rejoice, and the Word of God and the Sacraments to be profaned and despised. After speaking of godfathers, kneeling at Communion, and the kinship "betweene the Idoll

[1] See Strype, *Parker*, II. 53–4; Wilkins, *Concilia*, IV. 262; and Hardwick, *History of the Articles* (1876), 151–3. Also C.C.C.C. 121. 33.

[2] Reference is made to the writings of the "B. of Sarum" in a way which shows Jewel was still alive. He was present at the Convocation of 1571, but died immediately after it.

Masse and these Ceremonies," he goes on to show that, though the preaching minister is indicted, excommunicated, and forbidden to preach,

"the observer of ceremonies commaunded by men, thogh he bee an Idolater, a Worshipper of his Images in his Church, glasse windowes, a common swearer, a false witnes bearer, an adulterer, and much more; yet these that breake the commaundements of the living God live without punishment and have frends manie."

There is no doubt that the ceremonies are contrary to the Word of God[1], and Alcock, apologising for having written in his homely manner, concludes by asking the Convocation to obey God rather than man, and remove all stumbling blocks from the Church.

43. 1571 or 1575[2]. "A Supplication to her Ma^tie^ in parliament."

"In most humble wise beseecheth yor highnes, Your Ma^ties^ most loving faithfull and obedient subjects, the Commons in this present parliament assembled.

That wheras by the lacke of the true discipline of the church among other abuses, great numbers of men are admitted to occupie the place of ministers in the Church of England, who are not onlie alltogether unfurnished of such gifts as are by the Word of God necessarilie and inseparablie required to be incident to their calling, but allso are infamous in their lives and conversations; and allso divers of the ministrie whome God hath indued with abilitie to teach are by meane of nonresidencies, pluralities and such like dispensations so withdrawen from their flocks that their gifts are allmost alltogether become unprofitable, wherby an infinite number of Your Ma^ties^ subjects, for want of the preching of the word (the onelie ordinarie meane of salvation of soules, and the onelie good meane to teach Your Ma^ties^ subjects to know their true obedience to Your Ma^tie^, and to the magistrats under you, and without which the L. God hath pronounced that the people must needes perish) have allreadie runne headlong into destruction, and manie thousands of the residue yet remain in great perill (if speedie remedie be not provided) dailie to fall into the ditch, and to die in their sinnes, to the great daunger and charge of those to whome the L. God hath committed the care and provision for them in this behalf.

[1] Augustine, Jerome, Tertullian, Calvin, Bullinger, Musculus, Peter Martyr and Bishop Jewel are quoted in support of this statement.

[2] There are two copies of this supplication, one dated 1571, the other 1575. Possibly the petition was sent to both Parliaments.

And by meanes wherof, the common blaspheming of the L^s^ name, the most wicked licentiousnes of life, the abuse of Excommunication, the commutation of penance, the great multitude of Atheists, Schismatiques, Heretiques, dailie springing up, and, to conclude, the continuall hardning and increasing of obstinate papists, which ever since Your Ma^ties^ sworne enemie the Pope did by his Bulls pronounce his definitive sentence against Your Highnes person and proceedings, have given evident testimonie of their corrupt affection toward him, and of their willfull disobedience to Your Matie, in that thei forbeare to participate with Your Ma^ties^ faithfull subjects in praier and administration of Sacraments, wherin thei most manifestlie declare that thei carie verie unsound and verie undutifull harts to Your Ma^tie^.

In consideration therfore of the premises, having regard first and principallie to the advancement of the glorie of God, next to the long and most blessed continuance of Your Ma^ties^ reigne and safetie, which we most instantlie beseech allmightie God long to preserve, then to the discharge of our most bounden obedience, which in all dutie and reverence we beare unto your Ma^tie^.

Besides, being moved to a pitifull consideration of the lamentable estate of so manie thousands of Your Ma^ties^ subjects, dailie in daunger to be lost for want of the foode of the word and true discipline, and lastlie, respecting the peace of our owne consciences and the salvation of our soules, being at this present assembled by your Ma^ties^ authoritie, to open the griefs and to seeke the salving of the sores of our countrey, and these before remembbred beyond measure exceeding in greatnes all the residue which can be disclosed in Your Ma^ties^ Commonwelth, We are most humblie to beseech Your Ma^tie^, seeing the same is of so great importance, yf the parliament at this time maie not be so long continued, as that by good and godlie lawes established in the same, provision maie be made for supplie and reformation of these great wants and grievous abuses, that yet by such other good meanes, as to Your Ma^ties^ most godlie wisdome shall seme best, a perfect redresse of the same maie be had.

Which doing, your highnes shall doe such acceptable service to the L. God, as shall procure at his hands the sure establishing of your seat and scepter; and the number of Your Ma^ties^ faithfull subjects (the bond of conscience being of all other the streightest by meane of preching and discipline, shall be so multiplied and the great swarmes of Malefactors, Schismatiques, Atheists, Anabaptists, and papists, (Your most daungerous enemies), so weakned and diminished that by the help and assistance of allmightie God, if all popish treasons and traitrous practises should conspire together in one against Your Ma^tie^, thei should never be able to shake your estate, and we Your Ma^ties^ most loving obedient subjects, together with the remembrance of those inestimable and innumerable benefits, which by Your Ma^ties^ meanes the L. God hath allreadie blessed us withall, far beyond anie of our neighbours round about us, shall not only more and more be stirred up to dutifull thankfullnes to Your Ma^tie^, and to continuall

and earnest prayer...and obedient dutie, and to conclude, Your Ma^tie shall be recommended to all posterities for such a patern to be folowed, that nothing may seme to be added to the perfection of your renownde."

44—5. 1571. The National Synod of the Reformed Churches of France. Rochelle. 1571.

I. "The Ecclesiasticall discipline of the reformed Churches of the realme of Fraunce[1]."

This contains the following articles:

Ministers	38	Provincial Synods	9
Professors	1	National Synods	9
Vagabonds &c.	3	Baptism	12
Elders and Deacons	8	The Lord's Supper	7
Consistory	19	Marriage	21
Offenders	3		

Advertisements for the government of private and particular persons 24.

The last of these Advertisements reads:

"This present government and Ecclesiasticall discipline, concluded in the Nationall Synodes assembled at Paris, the 25 of May 1559; at Poictiers the 5 of March 1560; at Orleans 21 Aprill 1562; at Lions, 10 August 1563, at Paris 25 Dec. 1565; at [ ][2] 1 Sep. 1567, and at this place of Rochell 1571; read and diligentlie examined by the worde of God by all the mynisters and Elders appointed for the Churche of France, hath bene approved in all these points and articles by the said deputes, who in the name of their Congregations have promised and protested to keepe them and observe them for the edifying of the Church and keeping of ordre and unitie in the same, to the honor and glory of God.

[1] The discipline generally printed is the original draft made at Paris in 1559. For this see Beza (?), *Histoire ecclésiastique des Églises réformées* (ed. Baum et Cunitz, 1883, I. 215 ff.); Aymon, *Tous les synodes nationaux des Églises réformées de France* (1710); and Quick, *Synodicon* (1692). Quick's translation has the following articles:—Ministers, 57; Schools, 5; Elders and Deacons, 10; Deaconship, 4; Consistory, 33; Union of Churches, 5; Colloquies, 6; Provincial Synods, 17; National Synods, 12; Religious Exercises in Assemblies, 6; Baptism, 19; The Lord's Supper, 14; Marriage, 32; Particular Orders and Advertisements, 33.

The discipline was not printed separately and officially before the middle of the 17th century. For further information see the abovementioned works, and also Crispin, *Histoire des Martyrs* (1885); and Frossard, *Étude historique et bibliographique sur la Discipline des Églises Réformées* (Paris, 1884).

[2] Blank in MS.; should be Vertueil.

And there were present at the Synode holden at Rochell,
Jane, by the grace of God Queene of Navarre;
the hie and mightie princes Henry, King of Navarre, and Henry of Burbon, prince of Conde;
the most noble prince Lewis, County of Nassau, and the lord Gaspar, Counte of Coligny, Admirall of France;
and many other noblemen and gentlemen and others, at Rochell, 2 Aprill. 1571.

And they beneath named[1] have signed to this present Synode:—
Theodore de Bezé, chosen to conduct the action of the Synode.
Chandeau, for Lionnois and Burgoyne.
Cl. of Molin for Poctou (?).
Payan for lase Languedocke.
Coiseau for Bretaigne.
De Lesconne for Normandy.
Le Massau for Tourain, Anjou, Le Maine, and Vandosmois.
John Lyemin for the Ile of France and Picardy, Moranges, Limoges, Auvergne.
Guilemot for Poictou.
James of Bordes for Gascongne.
Guanget for Languedocke.
Dumont for Angoumois.
Det du mort for Provance and Pantage.
Descourse for Orleans and Berry.
Arnold Banc, called Lasouche, for Kercy Rouvergue.
Mollange, elder of Nantes for Bretaigne.
Le Barde, Deacon.
Quartin, Deacon.
Raimondon, elder.
Cousseau, deacon of Niort.
Perochan, elder for Pantongue.
Brieuse, elder for Quercy and Rouvergue.
Poutemes, elder and deputie for Auguis."

II. "An extract out of the actes of the Nationall Synode held at Rochell 2 Apr. 1571[2]."

Subscribed "Theodore de Beze, in the name and by the advise and charge of the whole company."

[1] The document's spelling is followed.

[2] Apparently these are not the official minutes of the Synod, but only copies of circulating manuscripts such as Aymon and Quick printed. The Librarian of the Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français, Paris (M. Weiss), informs me that the Library contains the original text of the discipline, and also manuscript extracts of the proceedings of the synods of 1571, 1572, and 1578. To him I am indebted for much of the information contained above, p. 77, note 1.

46. [1571.] "Certaine griefes justly conceived of B. Jewells sermon, with a brief awnswer to some parte therof, writen by W. W., and drawne into forme by T. W.[1]"

Jewel is addressed as, "Beloved father in the Lord Jesus," and is asked not to be offended at the withholding of the title "Lord," the use of which is contrary to God's Word.

The "griefes" are as follows:

1. In expounding Jer. 23, the Bishop asked that men who had the wheat should not contend about the chaff. In answer, those who desire pure religion say,

"If one of your farmers would give you freely 100 quarters of pure and cleane wheat, and his servant, whome he put in truste, should deliver you wheat and chaf together, would you thinke him a good servant, and say, Sith I have the wheat, I will not sticke for the chaffe? We thinke not."

The Bishop is therefore asked to give the people the pure wheat of God's Word, without the chaff of "Antichristian traditions."

2. The Bishop said he did not defend the things in dispute, but he did so by the examples used in the sermon[2]. The ceremonies "had theire begynning from the Divell and Antichrist, whose implements and trappings they are."

3. The Bishop's arguments in support of the use of the words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost" in the Ordination Service were flimsy and slender, and might be used by the Papists.

"Now wheras you wished that if you were the cause of this rent in the Church, you might be cast into the sea with Jonah, surely we are not of that mynde, but this we wish and hartily pray to God for, that he would once in mercy stirre you up from slacknes in doinge your duty as he did Jonah from drowsy sleepe...to an earnest and dilligent execution of your office in preching the gospell syncerely and purely; and that as he moved the mariners to cast Jonah into the sea, so he would put into the heart of the Queenes Ma^{ty} (whome God preserve) to remove you from your over quiet estats, pompous

[1] Almost certainly William White and Thomas Wilcox.

[2] It is true that Paul circumcised Timothy, but it is also true that he refused to circumcise Titus. Further, in the Great Bible, set forth by the Bishops themselves, Paul is censured for yielding to the ceremony of Acts 21.

livings and lordly titles. Neither crave we at this present any other thing but that which once Mr Elmar[1] exhorted Bbs unto...."

In short, the Bishops are as those who shut up the kingdom of heaven, neither entering in themselves, nor allowing others to enter.

"You will neither reforme Gods church yourselves for feare of losing your pomp and honor, neither will you suffer those which would, even with the loss of liberty, living, and life, that the beautiful face and purity of the Apostolicke Church might once shine in Englande, which God for his crucified Christe Jesus sake bring to passe at this parliament if it be his good pleasure."

4. The Bishop applied 1 Cor. 3 to true Christians, who desired to follow Christ and His Gospel, and not the "devises and antichristian remnantes of men." Jewel sharply reproved such Christians and called them sectaries.

5. He said that "as meat was for the belly and the belly for meat,...so the backe was for apparell and apparell for the backe." Meat and apparel are useful and necessary, but not so the Popish garments.

6. To wear "the habit of Antichrist" is to put a stumbling-block in the way of the weaker brother, to encourage the obstinate, and confirm the hypocrite. The ceremonies are admittedly trifles, and yet for them the Bishops "have deprived from liveings, thruste into prison, and stopt the mouthes of so many grave, learned, and godly zealous prechers."

7. The Bishop said that black, white, round and square, were "the good creatures of God," whereas they were formed by Antichrist, from whom the English Church received them.

No proclamations, laws, or statutes can alter the fact that the disputed things are Antichristian and Popish.

The writers would be glad to have answers to these objections, and to hear that the Bishops mean to make the English Church like that of the Apostles.

47. 1571. "An awnswer to such Arguments as B. Horne used in his sermon at Paules Crosse upon the 2d Sonday after Easter A° 1571, to mainteyne the remnants and reliques of Antichriste."

[1] Aylmer's *Harborowe for Faithfull Subjectes* (1559) is mentioned.

[Undoubtedly by the same writers as the preceding article, viz. White and Wilcox[1].]

1. The Bishop should have taught that just as Noah, Moses, and Christ obeyed God's commands in building Ark, Tabernacle, and Kingdom, so all Christians should carry out every detail of God's Word.

2. The Bishop's reiterations do not make his facts correct. How can it be right to use Antichristian things, to believe

"that you may thrust out of Gods Churche or vineyeard for trifles the moste diligent labourers; that you may displace, persecute, imprison, and banish such as will not alow or weare trifles and frivolous things in the service of our jelous God (for so you your selves name them), that you may place in their roumes and fraight Gods churche with licentious, wicked, doltish, and drunken mynisters,...that you may serve God with a mixture and corrupt religion, that you may deliver to Gods people chaf with wheate, shells with kernells, clouts with Christe"?

3. Horne said he would stop his actions if it could be shown that they were unlawful. His own conscience should tell him when he was wrong—he ought not to need another's advice.

4. He said he would not deal with controversial matters, because the place was not meet, nor the hearers fit judges. His silence was because, doing evil, he feared the light, for many of the audience were "honourable, worshipfull, learned, wise, and godlie."

5. The admission that he had heard but three sermons[2] since he came to London was disgraceful.

6. Horne commended Jewel's sermon and Christian forbearance. David was a good king, but he did evil things, and was not to be obeyed in all.

"Even so M^r^ Juell, in defendinge Christs Church against the open papist, did well and is much to be commended, but now, being an enemy to syncerity and the truth of Christs gospell, he doth evill and is worthy to be reproved. Our common error at this day is, that sith by our godly prince (whome God preserve) and Bb.[3], much good hath bene done to Christs Church in England, for which all true Christians are and ought to be thankfull, therfore we must alow and receive in the service of God whatsoever thei command...."

[1] Internal evidence is quite decisive.

[2] "They were M^r^ Coles, M^r^ Eilmars, M^r^ Jewells."

[3] David is an example of the "godly prince" who commands evil things, Uzzah of the "learned bishop" who does wrong (2 Sam. 6; 1 Chron. 13).

7. The Bishop "wished those cut off that did trouble us," and to this the writers say "Amen." Then not the scrupulous would be punished and cut off, but breakers of God's law, who wish to "turne backe to impotent and beggerly ceremonyes."

By words like these, the Bishops—for Cox and others have spoken similarly—show their true colours.

48. 1571. "London. A kinde of agreement, that was offred up to the Bishopp by Christopher Goodman, Persivall Wyborne, Edwarde Deereinge, Joh. Feilde."

1. For those Articles of Religion "which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and doctrine of the Sacraments," "I am ready to subscribe them as consonant to the Worde of God, for any thinge that I presently see or perceave in them."

2. The Bishop himself admits that there are imperfections in the Book of Common Prayer. The subscribers think there are more than the Bishop admits, but for the sake of concord they are willing to subscribe the Book, "for doctrine of faith and administration of Sacraments, so farr as they make to edification."

3. The vestments do not seem to be sufficiently authorised in the Word of God for ministers to be urged thereto, and therefore, although they may be tolerable in themselves, the subscribers dare not use them, for fear of being a cause of offence to others.

"Yet do I not judge nor condemne others in useinge the same, for they stand or fall to the Lord as I do. Nether would I breake the unitie of the Christian faith by withdrawinge my dutie from prechinge the truth and faith in the booke of Articles conteined. To the end that we mighte have occasion rather to goe forward to perfection then backewarde."

49. [1572.] "A preface or letter to have bene set before the Admonition to the Parliament by W. W.[1]"

"For as much as heretofore it hath bene thought good to beare with the weaknes of certaine for a time, who were to much addicted

[1] No doubt William White. The *Admonition to the Parliament* was published in June 1572, and the authors, John Field and Thomas Wilcox, were imprisoned almost immediately. See *D.N.B.* under these names, the reprint of the *Admonition* and collateral pamphlets by Revs. W. H. Frere and C. E. Douglas, *Puritan Manifestoes* [Church Hist. Soc.], and below, Nos. 50–5.

to ceremonies, thinking therby to winne them to doctryne; which sort of people for the most part, have so litle profited therby this 12 or 13 yeers that from their weaknes thei are growen to malicious willfullness, not onely craving, contending, and urging ceremonies, never caring for doctrine, but by conspiracy, rebellion, and open vilence have practised not onely utterly to displace doctrine, but to overthrow the whole state to bring in Ceremonies and all other abhomynations, for such as so intierly love a part do not hate the whole.

For reformation wherof if our Bbs now with other in authority, will be as diligent to urge doctrine and provide that every parish have a preching pastor, as heretofore they were in urging ceremonies and appointing that every mynister should were a surplice, with other pelf, ye shall within short time see our God more glorified, his people better edifyed, our prince more dutyfully obeyed, synne lesse frequented, godlines more exercised, and these willfull weaklings or rather rebells better restrained and nearer sifted.

Which thing we most humbly crave with a thorow reformation both of doctrine, ceremonies, and regiment, according to the admonition by the word of the lord, hereunto annexed. Wherin by a brief comparison you may see how the state of our Church is, and how it ought to be, both by the Word of God and example of the primitive Church, as allso of Geneva, France, Scotland, and all other Churches rightly reformed.

After which commaundement and examples we desire to have our Church reformed, both for the advancement of Gods glory, the edifing of his Church, and the safety of our prince, the preservation of our country, and the salvation both of our bodies and our soules, all which, reformation being neglected, are in great daunger."

50. 1572. "A breife confession of Faythe[1] written by[2] the authors of the firste admonitione to the parlyament to testefie ther perswasion in the Faythe againste the uncharitable surmises and suspiscons of Doctor Whitegifte, uttered in his answere to their admonitione, in defence both of them and there Fawtors."

This is perhaps the original document. It is subscribed "From Newegate, this 4 of December 1572. Jo. Feildus," and on the reverse side of the final sheet are the words:

[1] There is another Confession of Faith by Field and Wilcox in "A parte of a register," 528–46, *q.v.* Field speaks of the advisability of publishing a confession in a very important letter to Gilby, written from Newgate on Aug. 4th, 1572 [Camb. Univ. Lib. Mm. 1. 43; Baker MSS. Vol. 32, No. 23]. "For we are chardged to be Heretiques, Donatists, Anabaptists, and I cannot tell what."

[2] "subscribed" is crossed out, and "written by" substituted.

"Brother Wilcocks, yow maye use your discretion for the poincts especially to be touched; yow remember those whereof we talked, cleareinge our selves from heresies, incivilitie, frowardnes, and such other fawlts that we have bin unjustly charge[d] of. Studie to be breife. Jo. Feilde."

In the "Preface to the Reader," the writers say:

"It is no newe thinge...when any goe abowte to seeke reformatione of abuses and corruptions, to have them charged with many heinous crymes, as to be subverters of all good order, enemies to the state of princes, despisers of men in authoritie, prowde, arrogant, ambicious, troublers of common weales, Anabaptists, and suche lyke. For by these bitter accusations Satan more prevailith in hindringe the buildinge of Christes churche then by any meanes ells he can. For when princes see that by the growinge and increase of knowledge, corruptions beinge made open, ther growith division, sects, and many hurlyburlyes, sometymes bretherne against brethern, children againste parents, and one againste another, then are they affraide and muche troubled. They consider not the best part, but the greate as polecie teacheth, and therfore in suche matters, either they take that waye which maye please moste men, or ells, fearinge more daunger of the proceadinge of the Gospell then they oughte, utterlie suppresse yt.

Who knowith not that Charles the fyfte was speciallie stayed from admittinge the proceadinge of the Gospell in Germanie by such malicious accusations for feare, as he was borne in hande, of the overthrowe of the state? Who is ignorante that the Godlie in Fraunce (whose blode now beinge shed in greate aboundance, criethe owte for vengeaunce upon that cruell and blodthirstie generation the papists) were accused to bee Anabaptists, Schismatiques, Sectaries, and suche as wente abowte to pluck the kynge owte of his seate?

And alacke, who seith not that here amongest us the same accusations and worsse, if worsse maye be, are used againste the Godlie, that seekinge at a parlyamente tyme for Christiane reformatione of abuses, yea and of many suche abuses, as are confessed, and of them selves wished removed, are not onely not feared, but also affirmed to be Anabaptists, Donatists, Aërians, Arians, Huinckfeldians, Messalians, puritans, and I can not tell what?

Yea, the prince and magistrates (whose eares we beseeche God to stoppe from such malicious counsells), are stirred up to awake, to looke abowte them, to drawe owte the sworde, as if these men were readie to thruste them owte of theire places (to whom in many places of their wrytings they wishe longe continuaunce with all happines), to overthrowe their kyngdome and to bringe all things to confusione.

Because they woulde have Byshopps unlorded accordinge to Gods worde, therfore they conclude that they seeke the overthrowe of Civill Magistrates. Becawse they saye, All byshoppes and ministers are equall, and therfore maye not exercise soveraigntie one over another, therfore they conclude that they, when they have broughte

this in amonge the Byshops, will also bringe it in amonge the nobilitie and all the people.

They fynde faulte with the Regimente of the Churche, as it is drawen from the pope, therfore they are charged to seeke the ruin of the state. They saye that the Ministerie must not be a bare readinge Ministerie, but they affirme everye Minister must be Learned, able to preache, to confute, to comforte, to rebuke, and to do the dewtie of a sheparde, of a feader, of a watchman, of a stewarde, that he must be no younge scholler or suche a one as can but reade his service barelie, therfore they beare the worlde in hande, that they condempne the readinge of the holie Scriptures in the Churches.

And as they have bin uncharitablie and unchristianlie dealte with in these poincts, so have they bin enviouslye misconstrued in all the rest.

Lest therfore this poison shoulde hurte, it hathe bin thoughte good for the testifeinge of ther faythe and religione to all men, to set that owte openlie which was wrytten privatelie, wherein it maye appeare howe they are perswaded, and with what destestatione they hate and abhorre all Anabaptistrie and Heresie. The lord staye our gracious Queene and Magistrates from hearkeninge to the counsell of suche accusers, and open their harts that they maye understande the truthe to the establishmente of true religione and utter overthrowe of all falshode and superstition. Amen. Fare well in the lorde. J. F."

The Confession itself follows, Scripture references being given for each statement. Many of the articles are purely doctrinal, and we merely indicate their contents[1]. *The Holy Scriptures* are said to be "the onelie lyne, rule, and square of our faythe," and they should be preached and expounded in every congregation. They alone are the standard for the Church, and the Apocrypha and all other writings of men are on a lower level. The writers then state their beliefs concerning God and the Trinity, naming all the heresies which they condemn and detest, after which come articles on Creation, Original Sin, Predestination and Election. In the very lengthy discussion of the last named doctrine is the statement:

"We truste that this our open and plaine confessione shalbe sufficiente to cleare us from those despitefull names which the devill and his instruments have devised againste us, therby the rather to hinder our Godlie purposes in seekinge for Christian reformation, calling us reprochfullie puritanes, unspotted bretherne and suche

[1] For the doctrinal beliefs of Field and Wilcox, see the Confession in "A parte of a register."

lyke. Those names we abhore and detest and openly professe that in ourselves we fynde nothinge but synne and uncleannes...."

In discussing "The Lawe and the Doctrine therof," Field and Wilcox allow themselves considerable latitude. They get in a protest against "wearinge of prescript priestlie apparrell," a statement that "bare readers and single sermon sayers" are not fit ministers, and a strongly worded refutation of the charge of separatism.

"Moreover, becawse many lyes and sclaunders have bin spreade abroade of us that we shoulde perswade others to withdrawe themselves from publique assemblies to private conventicles, we protest that we thinke it utterlie unlawfull for any to withdrawe themselves from that congregatione where the worde of God is trewlie preached, the Sacraments sincerlie ministred, and true ecclesiasticall discipline exercised, to lyve as it were by themselves, and to refuse to submitte themselves under that common order and yoke of Christe, contentinge themselves to be as it were of no Churche. These we accompte rather brute beasts then Christians, who are severelie to be punished accordinge to their deserts. Furthermore, we dreame not of any unspotted church upon the Earth, and therefore, thoughe there be many faults in our churches, such as are not to be impudentlie defended, but with speede by ordenarie meanes to be mended, as lacke of Discipline and a righte governmente of the Churche, yet so longe as open defiance is not bidd to Christians, but that they maie injoye the truthe of doctrine in the most substantiall poincts, and have the Sacraments in diverse places ministred according to our Saviour Christes institutione, we thincke it not meete for private persons of their own auctoritie, without learninge or knowledge to establishe churches....[Yet in times of persecution etc., private assemblies for worship are justified.]...Therfore we affirme that the Churche of God is a company or congregatione of the faythfull called and gathered out of the worlde by the preachinge of the Gospell, who followinge and embraceinge true religione, do in one unitie of Spirite strengthen and comforte one another, dayelie growinge and increaseinge in true faythe, framinge their lyves, governmente, orders and ceremonies accordinge to the worde of God."

As to church government, Elders and Deacons should be elected to assist the pastors, as in the Scriptures; the "proude titles of popishe byshopps" should be abolished, for their dominion and lordship are antichristian. According to the New Testament, all God's people are priests. Again,

"it is not lawfull for any churche to challendge, usurpe, or exercise any sovereigntie or rule over another,"

while every minister must have his calling according to the Scriptures, "that is, he must be chosen by the congregation," and publicly ordained by the elders.

Ministers should be men approved both for character and ability, and "selie bare readers," and men of infamous life, should be excluded. Every congregation should give its pastor a sufficient income, but "the huge and princelyke lyvings of popishe byshopps" are wrong. Synods and conferences should be held periodically, when the work of the church could be reviewed, and the life of the ministers examined, men who had proved themselves unworthy being removed. After speaking of the two Sacraments, the writers state their views on ceremonies. These should be few and edifying, and free from the taint of Popery and superstition; churches may differ in regard to ceremonies without offence, so long as all is done to edification. A prescribed form of prayer is good, but it should not be based on the Popish Mass-book, nor should it be too long to allow for preaching. Neither should the minister be tied to it in every point. Again denying that they are Anabaptists, refusing obedience to civil authorities, the Puritans conclude:

"Therfore to knitte up our whole faythe in one worde, we abhorre from the bottome of our hartes all those sects cauled Anabaptists, which rejecte magistrates, despise aucthoritie, bringe in equalitie amonge all men, and woulde have all things in common and no man to be riche, and all suche other heresies either holden by them or by any others againste the written worde of our everlastinge God...."

51. 1572. "A true reporte of certayne talk (so farre as I can remember), had betwixt one M[r] Pearson, the bishoppe of Caunterburies chapleyne, and M[r] Thomas Wilcocks, the writer herof, and my brother Field, M[r] Mondes the Keper beinge by, on Thursdaye, the XI[th] Sept. 1572[1]."

Wilcox at once informs the Chaplain that it was quite time

[1] The document is endorsed: "To my trewe friend and brother in the Lord, M[r] Wheeler, goldsmith at the three Legges in Cheape side, give these." Possibly this is "Thomas Wheler," a goldsmith, mentioned in the Stationers' Registers, II. 168 [Arber's *Reprints*].

some one came to see them, for they had been in prison three months, and no one had attempted to convince them of their error. Pearson explains that the Archbishop has sent him because he had received a letter from their wives, accusing him of cruelty and injustice.

Field says the charge is one of injustice rather than cruelty, the basis being that they have been imprisoned three months without cause.

"We wrote a boke in the parliament tyme (which should be a free tyme of speakinge or wrytinge), justly cravinge a redresse and reformation of many abuses, and for that we are imprisoned and so uncourtiouslie intreated."

Pearson says he read the book on its appearance; there were good things in it, but parts of it were objectionable. Asked to state what these parts were, the Chaplain answers that he is not prepared for controversy; nevertheless he does not believe in the equality of ministers. The Puritans claim that the Bible teaches that ministers are equal, but Pearson denies this, and points out that Paul says that God gave "some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, some doctors etc.[1]"

Field answers that some of these ministers were but temporary, and for an extraordinary situation, the perpetual and ordinary offices in the Scriptures being those of pastor and doctor. Pearson then asks what is the objection to a man preaching outside his own charge; he says this need not be

[1] At this point Wilcox suggested that since they were discussing matters concerning God's glory, they should ask for the guidance of the Holy Spirit. He therefore called on Field to offer prayer, which the latter did in these words:

"Assiste us mercifullie (O heavenlie father) with thy holie spirit, which knowest the secreates of all harts, and guyde so our doings that thy trueth, beinge boulted owt, we may yeld therto accordinge as thy word hath appoynted. Let us not swearve from it nether be withdrawen from the profession therof, but rather so open our mouthes that we maye winne them to this trueth that go about to wynne us to the lyking or bearinge with suche corruptions and abuses as troble thy church. Lord, be good and gracious to our soveraigne the Queenes Majestie, that she may both see and do thy will in reforminge thos things that are amysse, and incline the harts of all hir nobles to the forwardinge and perfectinge therof, that thy gospell may have a free course, and all superstition an utter overthrow. Theis things and all other things necessarie grante unto us for Jesus Christs sake, in whos name we pray as he hath taught us, saying, Our Father etc."

a question of "thrustinge him selfe into other mens flockes," for the minister might go by request.

Field replies that if a minister does his duty in his own cure, visiting the sick, comforting the sad, admonishing and instructing the wayward and ignorant, he will have neither time nor inclination to preach in other men's cures.

Discussion on this point continues for some time, and then Wilcox sums up a wordy speech by claiming that the wandering ministry was contrary to God's Word, and that it helped to maintain

"an ignorant and unlearned mynisterie, the reformation wherof and the banishing of the popes canon lawe we have speciallie shott at in our writing."

Field says that no man can be a true pastor unless he has a flock of his own, while Wilcox puts the matter thus:

"If our Churche were reformed, that is to saye, if in everie congregation ther were planted a godlie seignorie and a learned paynfull minister, then you might preache in another mans chardge, so it were to end a controversie, to confirme some Doctrine, to beate downe an heresie etc., and yet this you might not do unlesse you were to be requested therunto by the ministerie and seignorie of the other church and lycensed by your owne congregation."

The Chaplain next complains of the tone of the *Admonition*—it seemed to be written in a spirit of anger rather than with a humble desire for godly reformation.

W. "I gather by your wordes that you are grieved with the bitternes of the stile. For that matter, I awnsweare, let every fat stand on his owne bottom."

P. "Indeed, I thinke it did not proceed from the spirit of love and charitie, for Gods spirit is mylde and gentle."

F. "I think that thinge speciallie towcheth me, and therfore I awnswere, as God hath his Moses, so he hath his Elijah. Esay called the rulers of his tyme princes of Sodome, John calleth the Scribes and Pharisees generation of vipers, Christ calleth them adders brood and an adultrous nation, and you knowe the Scriptures, both of the old and newe testament, especially the prophetes, are full of suche vehemencie. We have used gentle words to long, and we perceive they have done no good. The wound groweth desperate, and dead flesh hath overgrowne all, and therfore the wound had neede of a sharpe corsive and eatinge plaister. It is no tyme to blanch, nor to sewe cushens under mens elbowes, or to flatter them in their synnes. But God knoweth we ment to touche no mans

person, but their places and abuses, which derogate from the trueth, as that any minister should take upon him the name of Archbishopp and be called Metropolitane etc.[1]"

Pearson then asks if it were possible to do away with ecclesiastical policy. It was necessary in Paul's time, and if a Christian ruler commands things not contrary to God's Word, should he not be obeyed?

The Puritans reply that the Scriptures alone form the standard for the Church, and all commands of rulers must be tested by them. As to policy, Wilcox says that during his few years, only twenty-three in number, it has been quite unnecessary.

The Puritans further plead that they are well affected to the civil government, and opposed only to the Popish hierarchy and to things contrary to the practice of the primitive church. The title of Archbishop is one of these things; it is blasphemous and unlawful, for the Archbishop usurps Christ's position and function, and also grants licences in the Popish manner. It is true that ceremonies are left to the discretion of the Church, but all must be done for edification. Finally, Field points out that their families are impoverished, and asks Pearson to sue to the Bishops on their behalf. The Chaplain answers that the Puritans have wealthy backers, and that one man has promised Field £100. Wilcox points out that this was offered as a surety, and says that neither of them has received anything from this man during their imprisonment. The gaoler corroborates this, and testifies to the poverty of the prisoners, whereupon Pearson promises to report the same to the Archbishop. He then takes his leave, Wilcox first asking him to set down in writing any further questions or objections.

[1] Compare with this speech, Field's Dedicatory Epistle to Leicester in *A Caveat for Parsons Howlet*...(1581):

"That I use my selfe otherwise then my manner is, in roughnesse of words and sharpenes of stile, which perhaps some delicate eares will hardly beare, supposing it not fit for the spirite of the gospell. I have done it, I confesse, both advisedly, and with just deliberation, thinking it to be the fittest waye to beate downe his hawtie presumption. I think I know the man and also his gifts. Neither is it amisse to use sharpe medicines against impostumous corruptions and fretting carkers. The Scriptures give sufficient warrant, yea by examples confirmed in the gospels [references given] of round speeche against the adversaries of Gods everlasting trueth."

52—5. 1573. Four Petitions on behalf of John Field and Thomas Wilcox.

1[1]. From J. F. and T. W., "prisoners in the Common Gaole of Newgate" to the Earl of Leicester. Sentenced to a year's imprisonment on the "2nd of October last past," they have been in prison since then, as well as for four months before their conviction. They have had great charges, and now they—and their wives and children—are utterly impoverished. Their health has given way owing to the close confinement, and unless a speedy release is obtained, the result will be serious. They therefore pray the Earl to consider their case, especially the illegal imprisonment before conviction, and to write to Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, requesting that they might be removed from Newgate to the houses of the Bishop of London or the Dean of St Paul's, who are willing to receive them till the end of their term of imprisonment.

2. From the wives of "those poore prechers that have lien allmost these five monethes in Newgate" to [Leicester ?].

They are quite impoverished, and now that the cold weather is approaching, they beg his Lordship to sue to the Queen for the release of their husbands.

3. From J. F. and T. W. to the "Right Honourable Lords" [of the Council].

They have served the year's imprisonment inflicted on them by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London under the Act of Uniformity. Now they are informed that they cannot be released without special order from the Council, and they therefore pray the Lords to take pity on their poverty and the miserable estate of their wives and children and order their enlargement.

4. From J. F. and T. W. to some Lord (no doubt Leicester), about the same time as No. 3. They have served fifteen months imprisonment to the utter ruin of themselves and their families. They pray his Lordship to sue to the Council for their release.

[1] The petitions are placed in chronological order, not in the order in which they appear in the "Register."

56. 1573. "The Firste Subscription and Protestation."

"I promise unfeinedly by these presents subscribed with my hand that I shall endevor my selfe so farre as gods grace shall assiste mee, and my talents committe[d] unto me of God shall enable mee, to teach the Worde of God soberlye, sincerely, and trulye accordinge to the doctrine established in this relme, and without odious inventions and undiscreete discourses by name or by plaine circumstaunces to defame any person. And that I shall not stirre or continue any unprofitable contentions in doctrine. I shall not impugne the state of religion receaved, nor diswade any man from rites or ceremonies therof. But shall referre all alterations therein unto the wisdome of publike authoritie to take order in the same. I shall also in mine exhortations and sermons spend so the tyme I have to speake, that I partly sett forth the truth of wholsome doctrine, partly confute errors contrarie to the same, and partly to spend most my labour to exhorte mine auditorye to the good fruits of godly conversation. I shall not suffer any person to use my licence of prechinge by raseinge the name or abuseinge the seale. And shall also deliver up this my lycence beinge thus required thereunto by that authoritye from whence I had yt."

"A Submission to publike order and rites sett downe in publike prayer and administration of Sacraments 9 Decemb. 1573."

[*a*] "For the Cleargie.

1. I acknowledge the booke of Articles agreed upon by the clergie of this realm in a Synode holden 1563, and confirmed by the queenes ma^tie^ to be sounde and according to the worde of God.

2. The Queenes majestie is the chiefe governore next under Christ of this church of England, as well in ecclesiasticall as in civill causes.

3. I acknowledge that in the booke of common prayer there is nothinge evill or repugnante to the Worde of God, but that it maye be well used in this our christian church of Englande.

4. I acknowledge that as the publique prechinge of the worde in this church of Englande is sounde and sincere, so the publique order of administration of Sacraments is consonant to the worde of God.

And whereas I have in publicke prayer and administration of Sacr. neglected and omitted the order by publique autoritie sett downe, followinge mine owne fantasie, in alteringe, addinge, or omittinge of the same, not useinge such rites as by lawe and order are appointed, I acknowledge my faulte therein, and am sory for it, And humbly praye pardon for that disorder. And here I do submitt myselfe to order and rites sett downe, and I do promise that I will from hensforthe in publike prayer [&c.] use and observe the same, the which thing I do presently and willingly testifie with the subscription of mine owne hande.

D. [ ][1] Subsc.

1. I confesse the booke of articles...that in matters of faith and doctrine of Sacram., it is agreable to the word of God.

2. I acknowledge the Q. ma[tie] to be cheife governor next under Christe in the Church of England in all matters Ecclesiasticall and civill, as I have professed in articles.

3. I acknowledge the booke of Service so farr to be agreable to the worde of God that I oughte not to seclude my selfe ether from prayers or sacraments ministred by the same.

4. I confesse that the orders and cerimonies of this church are such that we should not refuse the congregation or make any schisme because of the same.

5. I confesse that the prechers of this churche may preche the feith of Christe truly and syncerely with good leave and commendation of the magistrate.

6. I testifie that those in whose handes God hath established the autoritie, that they oughte to remove awaye the popishe ceremonies nowe that they are offensive to the churche of Christe."

[*b*] "For the laietye."

[Articles 1, 2, and 3 in this form of subscription are practically identical with Arts. 2, 3 and 4, in [*a*] above.]

"And whereas I have absented myselfe from my parishe church, and have refused to joyne with the congregation in publiq. prayer and in the receiveinge of the Sacraments accordeinge to the publiq. order sett downe, and my dutie in that behalfe, I am righte sorye for yt, and praye that this my falte maye be pardoned. And do promise that from henceforth I will frequent my parishe church, joyne with the congregation there, as well in prayer, as in the use of the Sacraments, even accordinge to such order as by publiq authoritie is set downe and estableished, and to witnes this my submission and promise, I do willingely subscribe my name."

[*c*] "For the laity presented, which yet have no[t] refused to come to church.

And we acknowledge that there is nothinge evill or repugnant to the worde of God, so do we willingly submitt ourselves to the same, and promise that we will frequent our parishe church at the times by order appointed, and joyne ourselves with the congregation there in the use of common prayer and Sacraments, and this we testifie with subscription of our names."

57. [1573.] "Exceptions to be taken against those articles proposed to be subscribed unto by the mynisters and people."

I. The Articles of Religion.

A careful examination discloses many imperfections in the

[1] The name is undecipherable; it may be Amyez, Aunser, or Aimser. At the foot of the subscription are the initials "R.D."

Articles, many statements being set down very "doubtfully and incorrectly." These are some of them:

1. The title of the Book of Articles confirms a distinction of ministers, and therefore a government contrary to God's Word. It also appropriates the name "clergy," which belongs to all Christians, to ecclesiastical persons.

2. The 3rd article concerning Christ's descent into hell is not plainly stated.

3. The 7th, touching the civil precepts of Moses "would be better scanned."

4. The division of sins into deadly and venial (16th) is Popish and unscriptural.

5. In the 17th there is no mention of reprobation, and Rom. 7 is misinterpreted.

6. In the 19th, the description of the visible church is imperfect, for it lacks discipline, "the sinews thereof."

7. The Councils of Art. 21 are called under Christian Princes. If a Prince is a persecutor, Councils may meet without his consent, as at Jerusalem (Acts 15).

8. Art. 23 fails to express matters in dispute—who should call ministers, who should be called, and to what function?

9. Art. 32 makes an unscriptural distinction between ministers (called priests) and bishops.

10. Art. 33 gives an Official or Popish Canonist power to reconcile an excommunicate person, contrary to 1 Cor. 5, 2 Cor. 2.

11. The rightful appointers of ceremonies (34) are not Bishops and Magistrates, but General, National and Provincial Councils, with Synods of Pastors and Elders in each parish.

The ceremonies should not only be "not against the Word," but "grounded upon...the Word."

12. There is no reason why the Homilies should be subscribed (35). They differ from each other, maintain an unlearned ministry, and not one in a hundred has read them[1].

13. Art. 36 makes an inequality between ministers, and

[1] The Homilies are then examined, and thirteen objections to them stated.

sets forth an unscriptural form of ordination by Archbishops and Bishops.

"They say that the booke doth containe all things necessarie to the ordering of Mynisters, which is false, for there wanteth a right triall, right calling, right electing, and right ordeyning, which plainlie appeareth for that unfit men are admitted, yea, most commonlie thrust upon the people without their consent and alowance. Besides thei are chosen and ordayned by the authoritie of one alone."

II. The Queen's Supremacy.

To this the writers subscribe according to Art. 37—"Of Civil Magistrates."

III. The Book of Common Prayer.

How is it possible to subscribe that this contains nothing repugnant to the Word of God, when "general and particular corruptions abound"?

Eleven "general faults" are given first.

The Book is based on the "popish portuise." Its length hinders preaching, and there is much vain repetition. The Scriptures are "barely read" without exposition, and mangled into "Pistles and Gospells." Many places of Scripture are abused, the Apocryphal writings are inserted, and Holy-days kept. Faults 6 and 7 read:

6. "The tying of mynisters to the whole forme so preciselie, hindering preching, maintayneth a unlearned mynisterie and maketh the people think that the verie reading or hearing of all or a part of the service appointed is a sufficient serving of God."

7. "The skudding up and downe of the mynister from place to place, as to the chauncel for saying the service and singing the communion, to the bodie of the Church for the Letany and mariage, to the Church dore for Baptisme, and to the churcheyard stile for burial."

Next come "particular faults" of the usual kind, every part of the book being examined. A special note reads:

"The prayer to be delivered from the tyranny of the B. of Rome, which was used in K. Edw. time is now quite left out, and so commaunded to be by statute, wherby may be seene how we profit and go forward in Gods matters when that prayer against the enemie of Christe may not be used."

The injunction that only Bishops can conduct Confirmation is said to be false doctrine, which "all the Whitgifts in England" could not defend.

Seeing there are so many abuses, and that they have often been made plain by learned men, it is surprising that subscription should be demanded. To tolerate these abuses at all is difficult, to subscribe unto them—and the demand for subscription is itself illegal—impossible. Let all Christians go forward to perfection, and suffer hardship rather than subscribe that which is contrary to the Gospel. Because the Book cast some light in a time of great darkness, it is not to be inflicted on men for ever.

"Luther, Bucer, and Melancthon were good men, and yet were it against reason to compell men to subscribe to all their works. Good men carie in them the nots [*sic*, notes] of the corruptions of those times wherin thei live, and have their faults, that onely as the Lord shall encrease our knowledge, we may still be fashionyng of ourselves according to his Worde. King Henry of famous memorie was made an instrument of God to banish the Pope, to overthrow these Caterpillers the Monks and Friers, to set out the Bible in English, and to do manie other good things, with what minde it is no matter to us. And yet it were no reason that all princes folowing should take him as a paterne, and keepe things at the same staie that he lefte them. King Edw., that blessed ympe[1], his sonne, went further, and made a better reformation, to the comforte of all the godlie,...and yet it is no reason that the Queenes Ma^{ty} now shoulde maintaine those abuses that remaine, no more I thinke would he, if the Lord had given him so long a time to raigne, and such encrease of knowledge and sight to have discerned such corruptions."

The increasing light of the Gospel has shown many spots and imperfections yet remaining in the Church; these should be at once removed. As it was cruel and intolerable for the Papists to persecute God's saints, so it is for any

"to endite the mynisters of Gods worde, to keepe them in prison as wicked offenders, for that in a pointe or 2 intollerable they have offended againste the booke,...to raile upon godlie men, to call them rebells, traitors, yea and to threaten them with death....If the law were made at the beginnyng against the papists, as I am sure all the parliament house will confesse, yea, and the lawyers themselves, what equitie is it to lay it upon true Christians,...who humbly sue to her ma^{ty} for helpe in their distresses, who make no schisme from the Church, neither withdraw themselves into private conventicles, but keeping themselves within the limits of their vocation, refuse onlie to subscribe to such things as are against the sincerity of the gospell, and therfore suffer gladlie whatsoever is laide upon them?

[1] See the *New English Dictionary* for other examples of this use of "imp."

O yow Bishops, remember what you have procured, and what you procure daylye upon yourselves by these your dealings. You spoile the Churche of faithfull pastors, of the want of which thei cannot but complaine grievouslie, and yet thei are thrust out, the best, yea, and all in manner that wont to feede the people of God in Northamptonshier, in Warwickshier, in Leicestershier, in Northfolke, in Suffolke, and in manie other places. Do you thinke this will not hasten Gods judgements?...Remember how manye mens deaths have bene by these troubles occasioned. Will not their bloud cry for vengeance? God in his mercie give us all true repentance that his judgements may be turned from us."

IV. That the Public Preaching and Administration of the Sacraments are according to the Word of God. This cannot be subscribed, for if it means sermons preached Sunday by Sunday, many of these contain false doctrine. If it means doctrine published in books, much of this is stranger than that in Beza's *Confessions*, which has been disallowed on the ground that the people believe everything Beza says.

"But if thei meane the doctrine in the articles, and that which is preched by many godlie men as touching Justification, free-will, and other speciall points, we willinglie graunt the Doctrine in these points to be sound. As for Discipline, Government, Ceremonies, we firmlye avouch that the Church of England holdeth no soundnes in them, and we justlye complaine that by their licenses thei barre menne from speakinge of this and that pointe."

The treatise concludes with the words:

"God end these heavie times and knitte us together in the unitie of his Spirite and truthe that we may glorifye his name."

58. 1573. "That the Church of England is not a perfect Church, as some men suppose."

[Anonymous, but apparently addressed to D^{r} (afterwards Bishop) Bickley; and probably written by William White.]

"Forasmuch as you seemed to be offended with my dislike of the sermon the last Lordes day, being the 26 of April 1573, I have thought good to write this to prove that which I then sayde. That the Church of England is the Church of Christ, I, as a member therof, do frankly confesse. But that the same is [a] perfect church according as the word, the example of the Apostles, and all other reformed churches at this day do account perfect, I utterly deny.... The definition of a perfect Church according to the Scriptures, the example of the apost., and all other reformed Churches is that which hath the word of God truely preached, his Sacraments syncerely administered, and his discipline duely executed."

"M^r D^r" himself admitted in his sermon that the Church of England had not "discipline," and he is therefore asked how it can be a perfect church. The words of Christ and the apostles emphasising the place of discipline in the Church are quoted, and also Calvin's statements that "a Church without discipline is a maimed Church," and that "the doctrine of salvation is the seal and discipline the sinews of the Church." Beza's claim that where there is no discipline, there is a licentious life, is confirmed by the note, "To prove this we neede go no further then to our owne doores," and Bickley is asked to refrain "from like catchyng and cavilling to defame a brother."

59. 1574. "Articles objected against M^r Sanderson[1] by divers of Lynne 8° Febr. 1573 [1573/4]."

"1. First that he should in his sermons and otherwise sythe the curate there hath of late used the order in the church commaunded by the queenes ma^tie and her lawes to be used, call him[2] dombe dogge and camelion prieste.

2. He saide the prieste was lame to saye the morninge prayer, but he was not lame to bidd the popishe holydayes[3] and to say popish service for the daye.

3. On the xvij of Jan. he declared in the pulpit that they who before this tyme were content to bestowe their travaile and goodes to help to deliver the poore afflicted brethern, were now become Judges over them, and did sitt in Judgement upon them, and were falne to another gospell, as the Galathians were.

4. And he exhorted the people to praye unto God to turne the Queene Mat^s hart, to set forth true synceritie and doctrine.

5. And he said further that St Paule wisheth rather battaile for the testimonie of the truth, then to suffer any inconveniences to enter into the church of God.

6. Also upon the 24. of Januar. last, he said that if there eyther Bish., Deane, doctor, or any other, to preche any other doctrine then he before had taught, although he were an Angell that came out of heaven, hold him accursed and beleeve him not.

7. ...he called the holydaies appointed to be kept Jewish ceremonies, and the churchinge of women Jewish purifications, and that we make the princes lawes our divinitie.

[1] William Sanderson [*Ath. Cant.* II. 79].

[2] Sanderson's note reads: "not him by name, but generally all turners with the world."

[3] Note: "holydayes not popish holidayes."

8. On Wendsdaye, the xi[th] of this present moneth, the minister readinge the collect, beinge a prayer to God to deliver us from this dearth, M[r] Sanderson in his sermon the same daye, did openly say that the same minister and such as he is, were the chiefe occasion therof."

"His Accusers."

"I. 1. Fraunces Shaxton, Alderman of Lynne, one of my accusers, sett his hand against me for tow [*sic*, two] sermons made when he was at London, and saide he harde them.

2. ...this Shaxton is one of the greatest cornemongers in Lyn, and said to convaye in sommer last 27 shipps himselfe over the seas.

3. ...the said Shaxton collected false collection of my sermon when he was maior of Lyn, and callinge me before him, M[r] Bell the Recorder beinge there, was put to silence, five yere agoe, and synce he could never abide me.

II. 1. Smyth, myne accuser kept in an house one that never came to church so longe as he was there, which was no small tyme, viz. John Snape, which fled beyonde the seas for religion. The same Smyth is knowne to be an usurer and one of makins[1] crue, who is noted openly to be a wiseman and a conjurer...he said he would go masse if the queene commaunde him.

Blaseby, mine accuser was taken in a Church with an whore.... Blaseby beinge at that tyme churchwarden, which matter was before Commissarye Brisley, he and his whore, no punishment as yet knowne, yet these matters are so buried with money that no man can justly proove them. The same Blaseby, dwellinge in Lynne, cometh never or seldome to sermons.

Makins, mine accuser, notoriously suspected of whoredome with Puckeringes wife, notoriously noted of conjuringe, tellinge of fortunes, and cloaketh all with a couler of dogge physicke, haveinge no latine nor learninge at all."

60. 1573/4. "M[r] Whits examynation before the Commissioners."

The speakers in the examination are the Lord Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, the Master of the Requests, M[r] Gerard, the Deane of Westminster, the Sheriff, the Clerk of the Peace, and, of course, White himself.

The document is headed:

"A note of my examination and awnswer, as my weake memory could gather it, at my last being before the worshipfull and honourable Commissioners, the 18[th] day of Januarie 1573."

It ends with the words, "Thus was I had to the Gatehouse," and is subscribed, "Januar. 18: 1573. By me, William White."

[1] See below for Makin.

The examination is printed almost in full, and almost accurately by Brook, I. 145–8 n., and a paraphrase is given in Neal, I. 256–8 n.

61. [.] "A brief of such things as obscure Gods glory, stay the course of the Gospell, to the great grief of all the godly, and for which many suffer bandes and imprisonment."

[Subscribed "W. W.", no doubt William White.]

There are still many "remnants of Antichrist" in the English Church, among them being

"the popes Canon lawes, with all other his pelltry, which still keepeth the people in superstition and blindnes, to knocke and kneele to the Sacrament, using the rownde God which did not deface Christs Supper, that women baptise,...pluralities, totquots, impropriations, non-residence, dispensations, suspensions, excommunications and absolutions for money, purifying of women...."

There are many in the Church, who, "though thei deny the pope in wordes, yet will thei not loose any commodity that cometh to them by his law." On the other hand, no man is allowed to preach or hear the Word, to administer or receive the Sacraments, unless he obey the wicked law[1] which retains the "beggerly ceremonies." Again the Church lacks discipline, without which the Gospel "is but halfe a Gospell," and for not supplying this lack the Queen[2] and those in authority are to blame.

"And here thei are guiltie of dyminishing from the Word of God, which content themselves without the same Discipline, saying, it is in vaine to strive for it, you see it can not be had; God graunt that we may labour to do what God commandeth us, and committe the successe to him, and not count Gods lawes of so small force as that thei may be broken or kept at Princes pleasure."

It is the people's duty to see that God's will is done, and not to wait for princes and magistrates[3].

"How if thei will not lead the way? are we discharged? hath none made promise to keepe Gods lawes but princes, prechers, and

[1] Unless Christians obey this law, and attend their parish churches (from which godly pastors have been driven), they are brought to a wicked Court and extremities are used to make them act against their consciences.

[2] White speaks of the Queen with great freedom and boldness.

[3] God gave the law to the whole of Israel, not to princes only.

magistrates? or neede not we keepe and do his lawes except thei commaund us? or shall we be excused by saying, the Magistrates would not suffer us to do his will? or by saying, we would have done this, but all the learned were against us? All this will be none excuse for us; it will be sayde to us, Search the Scriptures, for in them you thinke to have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me; and we shall not be judged by our Magistrates and the wordes that thei speake."

In England, however,

"as a learned man sayeth, there is not such asking what God will and commaundeth, as what the Injunctions, what the Advertisements etc. Whatsoever is seene, perused, and alowed according to the Injunctions in every worke is received, but we let passe to have all things seene, alowed, and perused according to Gods booke, which ought to have the firste place in all matters."

Even godly princes may command wicked things, as David did in regard to Bathsheba and Uriah, and at these times they must be disobeyed. The Church of England is attempting to be wiser than the Apostles, and is too proud to follow them[1], and thus the people are demoralised, and as none in England

"careth for sinceritie in religion, so are all carelesse of a godly life, and walke on in wickednes, as though there were no God nor devill, nor heaven nor hell."

62. [1574?] A letter to "Ed. Dearing[2]" from W. W. (William White).

The letter, which is subscribed, "Your brother in the Lord Jesus,... W. W.," is an exhortation to Deering to stand firm in his opposition to "Antichrists remnants and mens inventions," for "how you or any may graunt not to speake againste them until they cease to urge and use them, by the Worde of God, I see not."

It has been reported that an attempt is being made to persuade Deering and others to be silent concerning the corruptions in the Church of England, and therefore White, who

[1] Gilby's words are quoted:

"The clergy of England will be a Church alone, thei will neither folow Christ and his Apostles, nor yet will they folow the pope and his prelats, but will be wiser than the one, and worse than the other."

[2] For Edward Deering, see "A parte of a register" (pp. 73–85); Index to Strype's *Works*; "The Life and Death of Edward Deering" in Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*; *Ath. Cant.* i. 354 f., 563; *D.N.B.*, &c.

calls himself "but a simple brother, yet wishing syncerity in religion with a thorow reformation," urges him to be strong[1], and,

"boldly, after the example of all godly, as you have begun, go on forward, syncerely, plainly, and simply, in the truth of Gods gospell."

63. [.] A letter from William White to a Recusant, "Friend Dover."

The letter begins:

"Friend Dover, Allbeit I conceived by your delayes and doubts in our last and first conference that you were unwilling to confer with me either by word or writing, yet have I thought good thus much to write to you."

White tries to convince the Romanist of the error of his ways, and says:

"I do in the bowells and bloud of Jesus Christ require you... that neyther yourself do obstinately hold, much lesse affirme for truth to others, that the Masse is available bothe for quicke and dead, that Christ his very flesh and bloud is in mouth and belly chewed and digested in the Sacrament; that it is lawfull to have, to kneele, to creepe to, and to worship Images, that we are saved by works and not by faith onely; that Christ hath delivered us but from originall sinne, that we have free will, that it is lawfull to pray to the dead and for the dead, that children dying without Bapt. be damned, that mariage is not lawfull among Mynisters, that the pope and his priests must not be subjects to princes, that there is a Purgatory, that the Pope can forgive sinnes, that his Bulls, Pardons, Masses, Indulgences, with innumerable such like be meritorious meanes and helpes to salvation.

All which, I say, I require you as above neither to hold, nor affirme for truth to others before you can approve the same by the warrant of Gods writen word, and then I dare say you shall neither hold nor affirme them for truth to others while the world standeth; for I dare advouch upon no small daunger that in the holy Canonicall writen word of God, rightly understood, there is not one chapter, text, word, nor syllable for the warrant of any one of these foresayde opynions."

If there is anything contrary to the Scriptures in the English Church, the blame is Dover's,

[1] The letter is full of Scripture references. Deering must not listen to the people and prophesy pleasant things, and he must remember that hypocrites have always tried to stop the mouths of true preachers; so the Pharisees did with Jesus, so evil men with the prophets.

"who not onely cut of[f] your self from the Church of Christ without which there is no salvation, but allso by your evill example and private conference do both pervert and confirme others in the very paths and speedy wayes of like destruction."

White then gives a list[1] of "the Jarrs in doctrine betweene Christ and the Pope, the Church of Christ and the Church of Rome," and concludes this part of his letter with a peroration in which the Pope is charged with usurping the title, "Vicar of Christ," when he is indeed "the very Antichrist, the sonne of perdition."

In his exuberance White ends his letter, subscribing himself, "Yours W^m^ White"; then, finding his argument incomplete, he adds two more pages. He claims he has shown that Christ and the Pope, the Church of Christ and the Church of Rome, are as much in agreement as "light and darknes, fier and water, god and devill," and he gives Dover certain tests whereby he may find out to which Church he belongs.

The epistle concludes with an appeal to the recusant to be present at the preaching of the Word, for through the Word alone can salvation come, and then White subscribes himself,

"In whome yours to use
W^m^ White."

64. 1575 and 1576. "M^r^ Whites Writinges. A Conference between a Christian and an English Anabaptist."

The controversy—which evidently originated in the banishment and burning of Anabaptists in 1575—is very long, but White's introductory letter gives a good summary. It reads:

"Before I awnswer to your reply, wherin, as allso in your letter, you indevour covertly to hide the grosseness and ground of your errour, I have thought it good therfore to set downe the originall and first cause of all our conference and writing that it may the better appeare to what scope, end and drifte you alledge and applie, chieflie, all those Scriptures and examples in your replie and saide letter contained as foloweth.

The originall and first cause of all our conference and writing began (as you knowe) by finding you in Newgate with those ix Anabaptists that were banished, where, in conference with one of

[1] The "Jarrs" are after this manner:

"Christ sayeth that ignorance of the Scriptures is the cause of errour. The pope sayeth, Ignorance of the Scriptures is the mother of Devotion."

them, I alledged Mr Calvin, and offered her the booke to have read his wordes, which she refused, saying she or thei did not depend upon men. To whose wordes you added as seemed to confirme hir, that if there had never bene moe bookes but the holie Scriptures onely, they had bene sufficient etc. You allso demaunded of them in my presence, without any cause offered, if they helde women to be common[1], as it seemed to mee allso, even to drawe from them a purgation thereof, and to justifie them in the reste.

Allso at the same time and place, being come from the leades above, where the saied 9 Anabaptists were, into the neather hall, I tooke you aside, and told you that I did not believe that you were inclyning to the sect of the Anabaptists, because I had often heard such report of you, but because I had now taken you with the manner &c. To which you awnswered that you would never conceile that with your mouth which you believed in your harte, which was that of long time you have thought it unlawfull to weare weapons, wherupon I required of you that we might have some conference about that matter, and that you would note the same with any other pointe you stood upon, which thinge you promised to do: but before you performed your promise I mette you againe in Letch lane, where, in like conference you affirmed that if a thief or a murtherer did come to robbe or kill, you would perswade that he should not kill or robbe, and escape by flying if you could, but you would not use nor weare weapon, nor resiste in any maner[2].

Further you declared the losses you had sustained by divers that did withhold you right, but you would neither contend in lawe, complaine to the magistrate, nor warne them to the Courte of Conscience[3], declaring what a terror of conscience you had for once warninge of one thether.

And in conclusion you greatly blamed Mr Wiburne[4] for using law against Ditcher etc., with much other like talke tending to the same, or like effect, and this was the originall, the first and onely cause of our conference: to the defence and approbation wherof both your firste letter and this your replie to my awnswer doth chiefely tend. Now to your reply upon mine awnswer as foloweth."

The Anabaptist, whose initials are evidently S. B., begins his reply:

"Mr White and brother in the Lord, I have received your great and plentifull letter thanking you most humblie for your great curtesy you would vouchsafe to take so great paines to write to me

[1] The Anabaptist's comments are in the margin. Here he says: "The[y] utterly denied it."

[2] Margin: "God keepeth me, and the haires of my head are numbred.

[3] The meaning of this is not clear.

[4] Margin: "His cause you can not defend by the Scriptures."

being so simple and rude in understanding as I am; but God make me to understand his truth."

The reply has 37 points. White replies to these in turn, and in the margin we again have S. B.'s comments. White sneers at the Anabaptist's "poor deceived sect of phantasticall spirits," and to this S. B. answers:—"I have no secte, nor am of any secte, but of the religion of Christe." To White's quotation of learned writers and of Calvin in particular, he responds, "I esteeme not for the worldes knowledge"; and again:—"I meane to leane to a more sure pillar[1] than M^r^ Calvin."

Then follow long arguments on the lawfulness of wearing weapons, taking oaths, and obeying magistrates.

Towards the end of the controversy, White speaks of his opponent as one who

"do account yourself happie to be a hewer of wood, and drawer of water among your divelesh secte whome you account worthy of all reverence, and yet one of those who lately suffered, even in presence of Alderman Gammage, then Shrieve of London, M^r^ Fox, M^r^ Fuller, M^r^ Field, M^r^ Winthrop, myself, and divers others, did aske whether thei could name one Christian prince in the world. Behold one of that felowship unto whome you would draw wood and hewe water[2]."

Then he continues:

"To conclude this matter.

First, in saying you will subscribe to all obedience, and yet disobey, you are a lyar.

Secondlie, in that you dissent from the universall Church of Christ, you are a Schismatique.

Thirdly, in joyning yourself to your divelish sect, you are, as I have saide, an hereticke.

Fourthly, if you have felowship with them, and be not of their mynde, you are a dissembling hypocrite."

In a final summary of the controversy, there seems to be a hint as to White's position. S. B. has asked that he might not be blamed for his ignorance, because he has little time for study, his poverty and desire to "eate his owne bread" making it necessary for him to toil for his living. To this White answers:

[1] I.e. the Scriptures.

[2] It is not clear whether the transposition is due to White's excessive zeal, or to a transcriber's mistake.

"Touching your many lets by which you have small time or none to folow your booke, to which I wish you, that either you had lesse time, or els that you tooke better profite by it, being at it. But whatsoever letts you have being a carpenter, the same or the like have I, being a baker, who be it knowne, have as great care for to eate mine owne bread...and not to be chargeable to any, as you or any of your sect."

The Anabaptist retorts that "this messe of unsavorie meat... cannot be eaten without salte," and his reply ends "Fare you well. Written the 13 of October. S. B."

The end of White's answer, dated Jan. 2nd, 1575[1], reads:

"Thus have I, as leisure served, as you say, somewhat awnswered, not to the worst of your letter, but to the best allso, the begynnyng, the middle, and the end. So leaving you to the judgement or mercy of God in Christ Jesus[2]...."

In a concluding epistle, dated Apl. 11th, 1576, White states that, as further matter for S. B. to consider, he has sent him

"a copie of a letter writen to those of your secte in Newgate not many daies before 2 of them suffered, touching the truth of Christs

[1] I.e. 1575/6.

[2] He exhorts the Anabaptists to consider

"the late judgement of God upon a brother (as was thought) whose credit among the godly, whose praise in the gospell, whose zeale and continuance in the same, whose persecution and exile for testimony therof was not much inferior to those that suffered most and gave the greatest testymony (death excepted), who held no such errors neither did condemne the Universall Church of Christ, nor cut himself therfrom as you and your secte do, but acknowledged the saide Universall Church as allso these members and parts therof: the Church of Christ in Geneva, in Fraunce, in Germany, in Scotland, &c: allso in London the Italian Church, the Dutch and the French, of which he was a member: so that his greatest sinne knowne to men, and as his owne mouth did confesse not many dayes before his dolourous and daungerous end, was that for Judging and condemnyng a part of Christs Church and but certaine members of the same, the heavy hand of God was upon him, which as wofull experience declared never left him, untill his owne conscience, hart and hand was his owne accuser."

The Anabaptist says he is willing to profit by any example,

"And, as for Bolton, I have to be warned by him, as you and any other were; but this be knowne unto you, he spake not to me in a yeare or allmost 2 before he dyed, and for this cause; he saide if the Queene would give him license and money, he would make an army and first go through England, and not leave a papist [alive], and so passe forward into other countries. Then I asked him if that were according to the spirite of Christ, [...who refused to allow fire from heaven on the Samaritans, who had mercy on the tares]. Then hee spake his pleasure at that time, and after that never gave me word where he mett me. But I thanke God I have not bene, nor am not, nor I trust, thorow the help of Christ I shall never be, of his blouddie mynde."

For Bolton, who was one of the "Elders" of the Separatist Church under Fitz, see Ainsworth's *Counterpoyson* (1608, p. 39), and the reprint of the letter to Knox in Lorimer, 298 (above, No. 31).

incarnation according to the holy Scriptures, which those 9 that were banished, those 2 that suffered, and those 2 that lately were delivered, with all the rest of your sect, and therefore very likely yourself allso, do most ignorantly, impudently, and damnably deny."

It is unfortunate that a copy of this letter is not given.

65. [.] "A Letter to the Earle of Huntingdon[1]."

"Having often read (right hon.) these 2 epistles folowing, both writen in exile by the brethren from Geneva, and both tending to reformation and synceritie in religion, The one placed before the Holy Bible there translated[2], and with the same dedicated to our most gratious, naturall, and lawfull princesse, Queene Elizabeth, whome God preserve for ever, encouraging her Ma^ty^ that allbeit godly enterprises at all times have had many lets and great enemyes, which by divers practises have sought, not onely to hinder, but utterly to overthrow the same, yet her Ma^ty^ in reforming Gods house, and building his spirituall temple, which is the chiefest worke, having the commaundment of God and divers examples of godly princes, whome so doyng God did mightily defend, she ought neither to be slacke nor dismayed, but speedily and thorowly to accomplish so excellent a worke, so much to Gods glory, the enlarging of his kingdome, the discharge of her conscience, the safety of her person, and the preservation of her realme and us her subjects, of God committed to her charge; all which blessings are chiefly atteined by zealous seeking to serve God syncerely, and according unto his worde, and by framyng a life agreeable unto the same.

The other epistle[3] is directed to her Ma^ties^ faithfull subjects in a booke entituled, The forme of prayers and mynistration of Sacraments use[d] in the English Church at Geneva. Wherin among many other things worthy deepe consideration, I note especially three.

First, that thei confesse that negligence in reformyng that religion which was begun in England, was not the least cause of Gods roddes then layed upon us.

Secondly, thei confesse, and also prove, that the greatest contention, disturbance, and overthrow of particular Churches came by willfull mainteyning of unprofitable ceremonies.

Thirdly, for redresse of the 2 former and daungerous evills, thei present to us a forme and order of a reformed Church, limited within the compas of Gods worde, and approved by that famous man M^r^ John Calvin and other learned in those parts, which forme and

[1] Henry Hastings—third Earl [1535—95, Earl, 1561], of Puritan leanings, and a strong sympathiser with the Huguenots.

[2] For the Geneva Bible see the Rev. N. Pocock's very able articles in *The Bibliographer*, Vols. I.–IV.

[3] This prefatory epistle is dated "At Geneva, the 10^th^ of Feb. 1556," and is probably the work of William Whittingham.

advise, or the like, God graunt England once to accept and folow, according to the fervent zeale, godlie counsaile, constant faith, and earnest request made in the Epistles folowing, least by using the like negligence in reformyng, and walking in those wilfull wayes, which have bene the disturbance and overthrow of other Churches, with other our manifold wickednes, we bring upon us the same or the like plagues, and be forced to make the like confession when it is too late.

The consideration whereof (right Hon.) hath moved me, though with some daunger, to cause thes two epistles newly to be printed[1], that such of the parliament house whose hearts God hath moved with zeale, syncerely to seeke reformation in religion, may both see what is amisse, and how to reforme the same, even by the true touchstone of Gods word, the examples of holy men therin, and probation of other learned, zealous, and godly men, as M^r^ John Calvin and other, yea of some of our owne Church, which as thei have bene so, I feare will be hinderers and enemyes to perfect reformation, whome the Lord convert or confound, as most may be to his glory and peace of his Church."

The letter concludes with a prayer that God will grant to Queen, Council, nobles, pastors, and people His grace that they all in their respective callings "may seeke the advancement of Gods glory, the edification of his Church, the establishing of true religion...."

66. 1573–6. "Strowds trouble."

"The manner of dealinge of D^r^ Nevesonne with John Strowde, minister, upon the accusation of M^r^ Storer, by a letter written the 20 of Jan., the contents wherof was to this effect:—first, for printeinge certaine bookes, for dispersinge bookes containinge seditious matter againste the state of this realme, and for teachinge in private corners contentious doctrine, defaceinge the ministrie, and sowinge discorde amonge the ministers.

Upon the 20 of Januarye, I haveinge occasion to come to Rochester..., I came into the chamber of the saide doctor Nevesonn..., and...founde there M^r^ Chansler, M^r^ Geninges, parson of S. without Temple Barre, and also parson of Chenocke and vicare of Zeal, the vicare of Detford, Johsonne, the Bishopps baylye, with divers others, for yt was a court daye. And...after he had enquired my name and dwellinge place, he sate him downe in his chaire, and haveinge a

[1] There seems to be no trace of the publication of the reprint. Neither can the writer of the letter be identified. The most likely names are those of John Strowd, the Puritan parson-printer (below, Nos. 66–7), and William White, in the midst of whose writings in the "Seconde Parte" the letter finds a place.

booke in his hand of Ecclesiastica disciplina[1], asked me if I knew the same, to whom I answered I knew not everie booke by the forrell[2]; then he opened the booke, and asked me if I then knew it; I turneinge me backe, and seeinge Mr Genings somwhat blushe, began to suspect (for that Mr Genings had about the moneth of November at the request of a frend of mine had one of the above named bookes), and said, If it be the booke that I, beinge desired by a frend of mine, did lend Mr Genings, it is called ecclesiastica disciplina, and it is my booke. There is in it, saith he, treson, rebellion, and heresie; wherefore I must committ you to the bayle, and you must go to prison. I said my hope was I had deserved no such thing, but he, after many words, and much matter brought out of Justinian the Emperor, to prove his treason, rebellion, and heresie, commaunded the bailiffe to take me to warde. Then I desired him I might find suretyes, to answer it to my lord of Canterb., or to the high commissioners, but all in vaine, I might not be harde, nor any for me, how many or how honest soever they were that came to speake for me, and so, goinge with the bayliffe, I was carried prisoner unto his house.

On the next daye, Mr Dr taketh Mr Storers letter and the booke, and maketh speed to the B. of Rochester, upon the sight whereof without any further examineinge the matter, my L. of Rochester writeth...to Mr Robinson, the Register, to this effect, that he should commaunde me that I should cease as well from teachinge of children as also from prechinge within the parishe of Yaldinge or elswhere, that I should depart the dioces within one moneth or 40 dayes at the farthest, and also that Mr Robinson should send the same commandement to the churchwardens of Yaldinge, that they should see yt done, the which letter came...upon Saturdaye..., so I was delivered out of prison, and shortly after the copye of theffect therof came to Yaldinge.

From thence goeth Mr Dr (as one not yet satisfied, and desireous to do his frend a pleasure) to my L. of Cant., and leaveth out no parte of his former message donne to my L. of Rochester, and to help make his matter good, he now joyneth new matter, such as was never done (a lye of his owne,) which was this, that wheras the booke was brought in and delivered to him by Mr G. Geninges, he said he founde that booke about me, and that I was carynge it about the countrie to corrupt other ministers, with some other things as true as this.

Shortly after, certaine godly gentlmen hearinge this matter, beinge moved in conscience, caused a letter to be written to my L. of Rochester. Only makeinge request that his L. would heare the matter, that my adversaries might stand face to face, and that, as he should finde cause to give sentence without favor, which thinge upon the sighte of the letter promised (but never yet performed) and

[1] See below.

[2] I.e. binding, cover.

his former sentence of departing the diocesse revoked, as appeareth by a letter written to the vicare in that behalfe.

But while this was a doinge, it was told me that he had bene with my L. of Canterb. with a very greevous complainte, and that I was like to be sent for. Whereupon I thought good to prevent the worse, and founde the meanes by Gods providence to have his L. certified the truth of the wholl matter, upon the credible information wherof I was sett at liberty for that space of halfe a yere then followinge, by his licence, under his seale that the cause in the meane tyme beinge considered of, mighte be decided and ended.

Now this beinge don, I returned to Yalden, hopeinge to have bene in some quiet. It fell out to the cleane contrarye, for as my libertie was enlarged, so was my sorowe encreased, for in february next followinge, a citation was sent to Yalden to be proclaimed in the pulpitt, and to cite me, the vicare, and the churchwardens, with the sidesmen, to appeare at Rochester at the next courte...."

On Feb. 28th, about ten persons went to Rochester in answer to this citation. The churchwardens and sidesmen were first called, lectured on the utility of godfathers in baptism, and then given the following article to answer:

"Whether any childe or children have been baptised in your parish, the order and forme prescribed and appointed in the booke of common prayer not observed, or altered in any pointe, and whose they were, and who answered as godfathers and godmothers, and whether they answered to matter and forme sett downe in the booke."

The answers seemed to suggest that there was some irregularity in the baptism of Strowd's own child, and so the witnesses of the ceremony, W. Flete and W. Pix, were called. Not only did the Chancellor fail to get any evidence to incriminate Strowd from these men, but they stated that they supposed their minister had been summoned in order that some recompense might be made him for his wrongful imprisonment. At this the Chancellor broke up the Court.

"Mr Doctor Sparks breakinge forth into flames, shortly after bringeth forth a new citation...only chaungeinge some of the sidesmen, and at our appearaunce, beinge the 16th of Aprill, he beginneth with the churchwardens and sidesmen, and first he giveth the article afore recited, addinge this clause, *nether omittinge, alteringe, or chaungeing any thinge therein appointed.*

2. Of prechinge without licence.

3. Whether any beinge discharged the diocesse and forbidden did yet preche.

4. Whether any such precher have any forbidden, unlawfull,

or suspected bookes, leadinge into contempte or derogation the booke of common prayer, or any the queenes ma^ts^ proceedinges, or of any reverent fathers, or of any orders, rytes, or ceremonies by authoritye admitted and receaved in the churche etc., or that hath in any publike meetinge or in private conventicles published or sett forth any such books or any such doctrine therin conteined, and who they were, and to whome they imparted such books, and who would or did go about to persuade any such doctrine.

And because by these generall articles they might have been deceaved of whome he spake, in the next article he sheweth plainely the marke he shott at....

Whether you know or have harde saye that the saide Strowd (never nameinge me before) hath had or done any of the above named things."

The churchwardens and sidesmen were then sworn, as were Flete and Pix, who also were given articles, and they were all ordered to bring their replies in the afternoon.

The Registrar then wished to swear Strowd, but

"I answered I used not to take an othe till I knew wherto I should be sworne, whereupon after a few words, he[1] commaunded the register to read them unto me, which were to this effect. Whether I now had or hertofore had any printinge presse and letters, and where they were and what was become of them? Whether I had printed any contentious and rebellious bookes, and when, and where, and how long since, and what was become of them? Whether I had any forbidden, suspected, or unlawfull bookes, leadinge into contempte the booke of common prayer, or any of the queenes ma^ties^ proceedings &c., to the number of eleven tendinge to the same end. My answere to him was, that these things belonge to the queens Ma^ts^ Commissioners, and not to him, and therefore I ought not to answere them unto him, but still he asked mee if I would answere. I said no; he said if I would not, he would excommunicate mee; then I appealed from him to my lorde of C., but nothinge would serve but the excommunication must needs be pronounced, and so it was, and after sent to Yaldinge, and there proclaimed on the first of May, beinge Sundaye."

In the afternoon the answers of the churchwardens and sidesmen did not satisfy Neveson[2], and he returned the questions to them several times "with threats and highe words," at last keeping them all night. In the morning

"he served them with a letter written from the Councell with 6 of their hands to yt (as he said), willing them to looke to the matter,

[1] In his description Strowd often uses "he" without antecedent, always meaning D^r^ Neveson.

[2] Unsatisfactory replies were also received from Pix and Flete.

and so for that tyme to depart and take the Articles with them an make diligent enquirie in the countrie, commaunding them also to go to maidstone, to M^r^ Storer, and enquire of him, and so bringe in their answere the next court, which should be the vi of May....

And thus farr is D^r^ Neveson gon forth with his uncharitable dealinge againste me. But for his slaunders and untruthes:—As how he was like to be haled out of his seat by me and my companions (as he said to D^r^ Walker...the 13 of May), That I had privily perswaded ministers against the state, and that I had gathered togeather in conventicles certaine companies, teachinge them seditious and contentious doctrine &c. Which all how true they are you shall see by his proofes when they come...."

"1573. The talke in parte passinge betweene her ma^ties^ Commissioners and John Stroude on Wensdaye last, beinge the 25 of November at the guildhall, with his subscription to 3 things."

"First, beinge asked of M^r^ Cartw. bookes where the rest were that were printed[1], he said he had delivered 34 of them to the B.

[1] In 1574 Cartwright's *Reply to An Answer* was reprinted, with the following preface from "The Printer to the Reader."

"Some perhaps will marvel at the newe impression of thys boke, and so muche the more will they wonder because they shall see that with great confidence and boldnes (notwythstanding our most gracious Princes late published proclamation, procured rather by the Byshops then willingly sought for by her maiestie, whose mildnes is such that she were easyer led to yelde to the proclamation of the highest then drawne to proclaime any thing against hym, were it not for the subtil perswasions and wicked dealings of thys horned generation, as by their false doctrine and cruell practises is to bee seene), and by the speciall motion of Gods spirite and hys protection it hath bene both attempted and ended.

But cease to muse, good christian reader, whosoever thou art: and learne to know that no lawes were they never so hard and severe, can put out the force of Gods spirite in hys children, nor any cruelty, though it stretched it selfe so far as to sheding of bloud, (from which kynde of dealing the Byshops are not cleare, (as the Prysons in London, the Gatehouse at Westminster &c. can witnesse) the Lord forgeve them and us our sinnes) can discharge the sayntes and servauntes of the Lord from going forwarde in that which is good. For the profite therefore of the godly and their instruction have we hazarded our selves, and as it were cast our selves into such daungers and troubles as shalbe layed upon us if we come into the hands of the persecuting Bishops.

From the which may the Lord if it be hys will to delyver us, if not, yet that it woulde please hym to geve us both patience to beare what so ever he shall geve them power and lyberty to lay upon us, and constancy also to contynue in hys truth and the profession thereof unto our lyves end. Farewell in the Lord, and prayse God for thys worke.

J. S."

Evidently John Strowd was the printer, and it is very probable that his initials appear in the "J. T. J. S." on the title page of the pamphlet *Certaine Articles,...*, which was printed with the *Second Admonition to the Parliament.*

of Lond. in one bundell, more he said he had, but his wife had burned them, as she told him. And for the rest, they were dispersed abroad, he knew not where, for they never came to his hands, for he was an 100 miles of[f].

Then, beinge asked how he durst be so bold as to Imprinte them the second tyme, seeing the queenes proclamation was againste them, he answered that if they had bene to print after the proclamation was come out, he would not have printed them, but they were printed before, and herein he confessed himself to have offended the lawe; much more talke they had abowte this matter.

Lond. What, are those bookes of M^r^ Cartwrits good, godly, and lawfull or not, and wilt thou defend them to be true?

Strowde. As there is no booke without his faults (Gods booke onely excepted) so will I not affirme that his booke is altogeather without falts, but to defend that I will not; he is of age to defend it himself. And as for the booke, I thinke your L. will not utterly condemne it.

L. I confesse there is somethinge in it godly, for it is a very evell booke that hath no good thinge in it, but I saye the booke is wicked, and is the cause of errour and dissention in the church

Catlyn. What saiste thou to the book of common prayer, wilt thou condemn it or no, is it antichristian or not?

S. For these five yeres I have not served in any church, but sithence that tyme where I have used to remaine, I have resorted to common prayer, which if I had condemned, I would not have donne; but if I should allow of all things in our ministerye, I should then confirme those things to be true which you have denyed, for you saied in your sermon at Paules crosse, that there were certaine maculats in our ministrye.

L. Indeed, I saide there were certaine maculats in our ministerie, yet ought they not to be removed by privat, but by publique authoritie.

S. I graunte that, but are these to be removed or not?

L. Though they be to be removed, yet ar these such as the church cannot be offended at, and every true Christian ought to beare with them, untill they may be removed.

S. I have borne with them, or els I would not have resorted to the church as I have don.

L. But have you bene a minister and now go backe; every one that layeth his hand to the plough ought not to looke backewarde without especiall cause.

S. About five or six yeres sythence, I was called before mine ordinary, who then told mee that I must subscribe or els I must lose my liveinge, and discharged mee of the ministerye, and I answered then I would resigne my liveinge, and so he discharged mee of the ministrye.

Catlyn. Are thou contented to receave the communion in open churches accordeinge to the order that is prescribed in the booke of common prayer?

S. I have not refused to receave yt in open churches accordinge to the worde; where I have resorted, I have receaved not so seldome, as six tymes in the yere.

Goodman. Name one church where thou hast receaved the communion.

S. You seeke my undoinge.

G. Nay, I seeke thie saveinge.

S. Because thei are Idoll Shepards I have refused, and you said, my Lord, they are dombe dogges, therfore there can no fruict be taken by them. I beseech you, see they maye be removed.

G. Whie, every member of the church of Christe is a sinner.

L. As he sath, every member of the church of Christe is a sinner, shall we therfore refuse to receave the communion?

Dier. What saist thou to the order of baptisme, wilt thou have thie child baptized accordinge to the order prescribed in the booke of common prayer.

S. I have none to baptize.

D. If God send thee any, wilt thou have them baptized?

S. I will.

D. Doest thou condemne the order of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, the order of churchinge women, of buriall, and of the other ceremonies of the church?

S. If I had condemned them I would not have resorted to the church as I have donne.

L. Well then, thou wilt condescend and agree to these three things?

1. that thou hast offended the lawe in printinge Cartw. books.
2. that Cartw. booke is nether godly nor lawfull.
[3.] that thou doest not condemne the booke of common prayer, but wilt receave the Sacram. of the L. Supper accordinge to the order prescribed.

S. I say as I said before. If I had condemned the booke..., I would not have resorted to the church as I have done.

Garett. But wilt thou subscribe, say yea or nay?

S. I will.

By me, Jo. Strowde
Yeoman."

"Letters written in the Behalfe of the said Jo. Strowde."

1. To the Archbishop of Canterbury from "the inhabitantes of divers parishes within his diocesse of Kent." These write "to exonerate M^r^ John Strowde...of all manner of juste reprehension to our knowledge." The petition is subscribed by:

"George Ely, Vicar of Tenderden and 21 other of the same parish.

Thom. Bathurst, Senior, and ix other of the parish of Stapleherst

W^m^ Walker, Vicar of Gouldherst, and 22 other...

Mathie Water, of Frittenden, and xiiij other...
Anthonie Frauncis, of Lamberherst, and iiij other...
Alexander Love of Rolenden and 18...
Christopher Vinebrooke of Hetcorne and ix...
W^m^ Vicar of Tysherst and x...
Mathy Wolton, curat of Beneden and xi...
W^m^ Cocks, minister of Marden and xiij...
William Hopkinson, pastor of the church of Salehurst and viij...."

2. To the same, from twenty inhabitants of Kent and Rochester, viz.

J. Ascely	Guldforde Walsingham	Edward Wolton
Thom. Wotton	W^m^ Lambert	George Marton
Elizabeth Goldinge	James Clarke	Thom. Brent
Lady Hen. Shelly	Hen. Fane	Tho. Whetenhall
Ric. Argal	Nicolas Barham	Alexander Fisher
George Molton	Robert Rudston	Robert Binge
George Dorrell	Walter Roberts	

These have heard

"that greivous complainte and accusation hath bene now lately exhibited unto your L. against one John Strowde, a precher of the worde of God entertained at Cranebrook[1],...in the which...he is charged to be a sower of errour in doctrine and of sedition in lyvinge, and consequently to be a disturber of the peace of the church and an enimie to the tranquillity of the realme, and upon the which... your L. hath proceeded already to move him to forbeare his accustomed exercises in the church, and also to abandon the said place of his abode, and to shifte the countrie.

So it is...that sundrie of us do too well knowe that the seid Strowde hath ben sundry tymes heretofore sharpely beaten and whipped with the untrue reports of slanderous tongues, and accused of the selfe same crimes, wherewith he is now burdened before your L., wherof notwithstandinge, by the assistaunce of God and the synceritie of men in office to the confirmation of his owne Innocency and to the confusion of his adversaries, he hath most clearly acquitted himself and satisfied others. Every one of us for the most part... hath harde him preach Christ truly and rebuke sinne boldly and hath seene him hitherto apply his calling faithfully, and live amonge us peacably. So that, not only by his diligent doctrine, our youth hath bene hitherto enformed, and ourselves confirmed in true religion and learneinge, but also by his honest conversation and example we are all daily allured to a christian life and the exercises of charitie.

And no one of us...hath hitherto ether harde...that he hath publiquely in his sermons and lectures, or privatlye in his communication and conference, taught ether unsoundly for the substance of doctrine receaved, or repugnantlye for the discipline about the which

[1] See below, No. 67.

greate controversie (alas) is now growne and mainteined. Yea, it is most assured that he hath given faithfull promise to forbeare the handlinge of any one question concerninge the policye of the church, and we thinke in our consciences that he hath truly performed it."

The petitioners therefore pray the Archbishop to hear the cause of Strowd for himself, or else to restore the minister to his "former libertie" of preaching the Gospel.

3. A general "testimoniall" from "the parishioners of Ashforth in...Kent" to

"testifie that one John Strowde, preacher of the gospell, hath preached in our church, and in the feare of God we affirme that the doctrine that he hath preached amongest us is sounde and accordinge to the truth of Gods most holy worde."

The date of the testimonial is May 27th, 1576, and the signatories are:

"Thomas Pelt, Minister — Simon Fusse — Edward Mapsden
John Stibbing, minister — Tho. Osborne — Thom. Birde
Tho. Hinde, constabularius — John Banks — Thom. Hasell
John Ireland, minister"

"To the same have subscribed divers others, whose names and dwellings followe, as:

Roberte Gage, vicar de Yaldinge.
William Flete — Tho. Rossell — William Pix
Antonye Pawle, minister of Huntington, alias Hunton
Tho. Sebte — Tho. Harenden
William Charlton, minister and preacher of Tunbridge
Antonius Charger, minister
John Stockwood, Scholemaster of Tunbridge
Edwarde Cotton, ussher of the same schoole
John Holnast, minister of East Farliphe
James Clarke

Of Woodchurch these:

Marten Harlakinden — James Wills — Andrew Dowle
George Jervis — Rych. Yonge — Henry Bennitt
Robert Wills"

67. 1575. A Controversy at Cranebrook[1].

The protagonists are "Mr Good," the schoolmaster of Cranebrook, a strong supporter of John Strowd, the deprived

[1] See Tarbutt, *The Annals of Cranbrook Church*...(three lectures published in 1870, 1873, and 1875). The author quotes the "Transcript" but misses the point entirely, making Fletcher and Strowd friends, united together against "popish leaven" in the parish.

Puritan minister, on the one hand, and Mr Fletcher, the clergyman who was incumbent at Cranbrook, on the other. A prominent part is taken in the controversy by Mr Fletcher's son, then at Rye, afterwards Bishop of London.

I. "Evill coherences not without some errours gathered out of Mr Fletchers sonnes sermon made July 27th 1575."

As an example of these, the third may be quoted:

"If you understande by that sort of men which be nether papists nor protestants Mr Strowde, whose religion, (as you affirme), is the dislikeinge of religion, and to be one of Austens puritans, who were damnable heretickes, or els to agree with the new brotherhoode of love, we knowe yt to be false, for that in our heareinge he hath preched againste all these...."

The purport of the whole article can be best gathered from

II. "An answere made by Mr Fletcher of Rye unto certaine notes gathered out of his sermon...."

Personal abuse is prominent throughout the controversy. Fletcher begins his answer by saying that he would not contend with a pettifogger in divinity but that he does not wish to leave a fool unanswered in his folly. He objects strongly to the impertinence of Strowd and his followers in putting their private opinions against the order by law established.

"It is a commone thinge now for every pragmaticall prentise to have in his head and mouth the government and reformation of the church, and he that in exercise can speake therof, that is the man."

After a sneer at the artificers of Cranebrook, Fletcher turns to Mr Good, whom he describes as "the unworthyest scolmaster since my knowledge was ever in Cranebrook." Good should stick to his own business, for his pupils know nothing of their grammar after five or six years with him. They are also rude and unmannerly, but in that they only follow their master, who is irreverent, and calls out in church during the sermon. Strowd is consistent, but the schoolmaster has not even that virtue. To show his own learning, while proclaiming Good's ignorance, Fletcher quotes Greek and Latin plentifully, and then says:

"As for your comparisone of your Strowde with me, it is but of your owne conceit."

If Strowd were the man his followers claimed, why had he been deprived in Bath and Wells? Why could he not have subscribed and kept his living, instead of becoming dependent on poor men—and then subscribing after all?

"If he taught as truly as I, why hath he bene imprisoned and trobled in the Geld Hawle, tossed in Rochester dyocs by those which have the government... ?"

Why was he sent for by pursuivants, and why excommunicated?

"Why is the compasse of Englande not sufficient, but he must be passed in fortunas insulas?"

There is no comparison between Strowd and himself; he (Strowd) has

"no callinge, no place, no charge of them, no furnyture, small humanity, lesse divinytye," indeed, he "may mourn for Divinity (as Rachel did for her children), because he hath it not."

Further

"Invidium vagum is chargeable to some that hath lyttle neede to be charged, hath noe lyvinge nor callinge anywhere lawfull, roveth and revelleth, ergo I came not as he. Againe I came from Nayoth, from Rameth, from scoles of good learninge, there broughte up at the feet of good Gamaliell, approved by the whole universitie, havinge lycence graunted by the whole consent of the universitie. Your apostle cometh from his occupation, broughte up at the feete of some mechanicall master, unapproved, unfurnyshed, except yt be with the margente of an Englishe Bible. Therefore I came not as he. Furthermore I taught in noe private conventicles but openly.... I moved noe sedytions, noe schisme or dyvision in the church &c. &c."

After speaking of the "Genevian note" of Strowd and his followers, Fletcher blames them for attempting to pull down that which is well built, and for cutting themselves off from the church instead of obeying the established order. In Cranebrook, for example, obedience

"is withered, now open chalenges in the middest of prechinge in the congregation, lybellinge against the lawfull mynister, pens walkinge at sermons, and afterwarde pyckinge owte and cullinge and falsifieinge spetiall poynts, or writinge against them and publishinge the same with all boldnes. And I feare within the compasse of Cranbrooke some presse to print seditious pamphletts; one of youre fraternytie spake of late, but he spake verie spitefully and not lesse craftely concerninge your printinge precher."

Fletcher then answers the criticism of his sermon point by point, occasionally turning aside to blame the people for leaving "a fountaine to runne to a puddle." He complains bitterly that many of the parishioners gave money, "even twenty shillings," to the deprived nonconformist minister, while refusing the lawfull tithe to the vicar, though it be but "twenty groats." The reply then concludes with a stirring peroration of abuse of Strowd, Good, and all those who are in agreement with them.

III. "The answere unto a certayne pryvie reply or invective of Mr Fletcher of Rie."

This is Good's rejoinder to Fletcher's answer. It is very long, and is plentifully strewn with Latin phrases and scholastic terms. The schoolmaster tells Fletcher that "of your judgement for me, I make as lyttle accompte as you do of mine for you," but admits that the clergyman's words had turned "my scollers parents goode will frome me." Good blames Fletcher for the scoffing tone of his answer,—his chiding spirit is "a lying spirit," and "if this be but your barking, God keepe us from your byting." Next turning to the criticisms of Strowd, the writer calls them "a swarme of lies," and expresses regret that Fletcher has so soon forgotten the lessons he learnt at Gamaliel's feet!

Strowd "is *not* without living, neither calling, neither roveth nor revelleth or revileth"; as for his ability,

"let the triall stand by God and good Busshopps; your old Mr Busshop Parker and the Busshop of London and Rochester gave him licence to preche, and they would not have done without some tryall and knowledge that he had good gifts. And therefore I will beleve them before I credit you in this case.... If you make such men Rachells, God sende us moe such Rachells."

After a striking and bold acknowledgment of "our Genevia note," comes a repudiation of the name "Puritan."

"Sith your displeasure is so great agaynst us of Cranebrooke that all is lothsome that we do in our brother Strowds behalfe: And especially that you would thrust forward into the freashe daunger of conventicles and puritans such honest and lawful convencions as we here use. Sith you practiced with your father to applie unto us lawes made for schismaticks, puritans, &c., being perverted yourself, you were lyke to pervert also your allegations...."

Mr Strowd is also "clear of the charge of partakeinge with

the faithlesse family of love," and of course there is no true comparison between him and Fletcher. The latter seems to think that "frequent thunderbolts of impudency" make a sermon; Strowd evidently has God's Spirit with him, or "he could not preach as he doth." Again, that all is not well with the Church, M^r^ Fletcher has admitted; his father, however, has "fled from this assertion," while, because Strowd drops an "if" from the order of service, the son talks of "pragmaticall prentises" and "medlers with reformation." What Fletcher desires is a benefice, and because he "gapes in vain," he makes his voice heard. Strowd, on the other hand, has been unjustly deprived of a benefice—would that all malefactors were punished as readily as he has been!

It is true that there are "divers presses" in Cranebrook, but they "will not nor cannot print." The "epithets of printinge minister or worse" do not matter—S^t^ Paul was a tentmaker and some of the disciples fishermen. Fletcher complained that Strowd preached twice on Sundays, but "better twice in a day then once in a month or seldomer."

M^r^ Fletcher, senior, has no need to grumble at the non-payment of the tithes; he is too hard on the poor—he has been known to take 16 pence, all that one poor man had—and too tender to the rich. Besides, he has two "bowstrings to his bow," and a long while ago put two "hey ricks into one[1]." The money contributed for Strowd's maintenance is a free gift, and "cometh not out of your pursse."

Good concludes his reply by again rebuking Fletcher's "wilfull obstinacy" and "vaine insultation," and telling him that the weapons he has used "to expugne a good prechers integretie" will "recuyle upon yourself."

IV. Five tables giving:

1. "Scoffs touching M^r^ Good gathered out of M^r^ Fletchers pryvie reply."
2. "Uncharitable speaches touching him."

3 and 4. [Scoffs and uncharitable speeches *re* Strowd.]

5. "Malicious speaches touching the inhabitants of Cranebrook."

[1] He became Rector of Smarden in 1566 (Tarbutt, Lecture III).

68. 1573–5. "Northamptonshire matters."

1. "forma promissionis."

"I., A.B., do promise before you, mine ordinarie, that I will henceforth (so longe as by lawe and lawfull injunctions of this realme I shalbe bounde to do yt,) use the service and common prayers and administrat. of the Sacr. in my church and parishe of A., or elswhere I shall hereafter serve in any cure, in all points to my power, accordinge to the rites, order, forme, and ceremonies prescribed in the booke of common preer, authorized by an acte of parlament in the first yere of the queenes ma^ties^ reigne. And that I will not hereafter prech or speake any thinge tendinge or soundinge to the derogation or depravinge of the said booke, or in any pointe or parcell therof remaineinge, authorised by the lawes and statutes of this realme.

Protestinge further that the booke of consecration of Archb. and Bp. and of the ordereinge of ministers and decons lately sett forth in the time of K. Edwarde the Sixte, and confirmed by authoritie of parlament, doth conteine in yt all things necessarie for such consecration and orderinge, haveinge in yt nothinge that is ether superstitious or ungodly to my Judgement.

And therefore that they which be consecrated and ordered accordeinge to the same booke be duly, orderly, and lawfully ordeined and consecrated. And that I do acknowledge my duty and obedience to mine diacesan and ordinarie as to a lawfull magistrate under the queenes ma^tie^ so far forth as the lawes and statutes do require, which obedience I do promise accordinge as the lawes shall binde me to performe, for testimonie hereof I do subscribe my name hereunto."

2. "Causes of Deprivation."

"1....we were deprived by James Ellis, D^r^ of the civill lawe and Chauncellor to Edmond Scambler, B. of Peterboroughe, the 29 of Januar...1573..., beinge first suspended...three weekes.

2. The names of the deprived are Arthur Wake, parson of great Billinge, Eusebius Pagett[1], parson of Owlde, Thurston Mosly, parson of Hardingston, George Gildred, parson of Collingtrowghe, W^m^ Dawson, parson of Westonfavell.

3. The valew of Billinge to dwell on, ys worth at this day an 100. Owlde is likewise an hundred powndes; Hardingston fortie poundes; Collingtrough foure score poundes; And Weston an hundred markes. Saveinge that M^r^ Pagett had lett out his (viz. Owlde) to lease, and Weston was lett out by the B. for xxi yere for £xx by yere, of which there is tenn yere past.

4. ...they were all of them prechers, and iiij of them licensed by the B. of the universitie, iij of them moderators of thexercise, iiij of them graduats, all learned prechers, speakers in the exercise, and godly.

[1] See below, No. 175.

5. The causes were not for that any of us had bene popish preists or for any heresies in doctrine or faults in manners, but because we would not subscribe to one of the ij formes of subscription, the one called forma promissionis, the other forma abjurationis, in which forma abjurationis they required not to tollerate, but by oth and subscribeinge to affirme that all things in the [1] are agreable to the word of God, wherin we should have allowed the Baptisme by women. Secondly they required us with the like oth and subscription that wee should never hereafter, ether in publike or private speeche use any wordes againste anye thinge conteined in the said booke. And in which forma promissionis they required first as in the second article in forma abjurationis.

Secondly, we should with subscription have allowed the booke sett forth for Ordeininge of ministers and deacons, which besides that we did never see it, yt seemeth we should by that meanes have allowed those ministers which ar not able to preach, besides the approveinge of that sayinge spoken by the B^s^, "receave the holy ghoste." Besides the confirmeinge of all other abuses, which oth with the subscription seeamed of us to be required contrarie to the lawes of this realme.

We offered to use the booke of common prayer and none other, and not to preche against the same untill this present parlament.

The parsons[2] nowe enjoyinge the benefices, ij of them, which is the parson [of] Collingtrough and vicare of Hardingston have ij great benefices besides; and as touchinge the parson of Billinge, he hath only the fourth parte of the vailes allotted for his liveinge, and the churches since have bene served by outlandishe men, such as cold scarse be understande, and such as have runne awaye from London.

Wee denied our appeales by the late Archb. whenas there was wont to be ij sermons every Sondaye, nowe they have one in a quarter of a yere, and for the most parte not that, and in none of them the like diligence that was used. By this meanes the churches are left untaughte, and those that were going forwarde are hindred by those negligent and ignorant parsons, and the nomber of those that have bene wonne by prechers are no smale number, as it hath appeared when in Billinge iij dayes before the deputation, there did ride to the B. above xij, comminge with them the handes almost of xx more. Likewise did the godly of Collingtrough deale with the chancellor. [3] of the seid ministers have wives and children, and ij of them no liveinge and almost undone, so that if God by his

[1] "word of God" is crossed out in MS.; "book of common prayer" is evidently intended.

[2] Perhaps "persons" (abbreviated in MS.).

[3] The number is missing in the MS.

providence did not helpe they might begge, and also the seid ministers are let from exerciseinge their giftes, so that some of them did not nor could not be suffered to preche ij since the seid time of deputation."

69. [1575.] "The Supplication of the Ministers Deprived in Northamptonshire to the Queenes Ma^{tie} and the parliament."

The petitioners,—Arthur Wake, Eusebius Paget, Thurston Mosley, George Gildred, and William Dawson,—point out that two years previously they were in possession of the livings of Billinge, Owlde, Hardingston, Collingtrough, and Westonfavell, being continually resident, and discharging faithfully all the duties of a pastor.

They were then cited to appear before D^{r} Ellis, the Bishop's Chancellor, and asked to subscribe two forms of articles. This they could not do, for it would have meant approving "apparent mischiefes," admitting the lawfulness of baptism by women, and consenting to an unlearned ministry and an unlawful ordination. Being unwilling to leave their flocks, however, they offered to "use the booke of Common Praier and not preche against anie the abuses in the same untill redresse might be had by parliament."

Not satisfied with this offer, the Chancellor deprived them, and they appealed in vain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Thus they were unjustly thrust from the ministry and from their livings.

"And to the further increase of their griefs...there have ben since some other ministers obtruded, but those such as are either utterlie unlearned, and pencioners of their owne benefices, or not preching and idle, or not resident at all...to the utter racing of the spirituall foundations of religion out of some of their harts for want of the Word."

Having no legal remedy, they appeal to Queen and Parliament for redress of their manifest wrongs and restoration to their livings, begging that the "pretensed incumbents" (who could keep the "commodities or profits" for the time of their tenure) might be removed.

Then by faithful preaching the people would be edified and God glorified.

70. [1573.] "Middlesex. M^r^ Johnson's Inditement."

An extract in abbreviated Latin, probably from the Register of some Ecclesiastical Court. It states that on Nov. 7^th^, in the 15^th^ year of the Queen's reign, Robert Johnson[1], of the parish of S^t^ Clement's, London, baptised an unknown infant, without making the sign of the cross, or using the words of the Prayer Book. Also on Sept. 6^th^, he married Leonard Morris and Agnes Miles without using the words: "With this ring, I thee wed."

"The names of those which indited him

1. for the L. Supper

Roger Smyth	John Hill	William Downes	Simon Awly
John Barker	Roger Marven	Charles Cox	George Burton
Simon Barrenger	Rob. Marten	Jerman Harbery	John Bacon
Robert Fox	Peter Pannell	Walter Smith	

2. for Baptism and Mariage

Jam. Forman	W^m^ Thomlinson	Leon Richardson	James Allgood
W^m^ Breeche	Clement Pigge	Ry. Dunnington	Joh. Goldinge
Ry. Raughton	James Crewe	W^m^ Woode	Edward Thomson
Henry Evert	Tho. Pigott	John Haberson"	

71. [.] A Defence of the Ceremonies. Subscribed "Tho. Lynclne[2]."

"Althoughe I be perswaded that the moste objections that by some persons are made against the booke of common praier are in truthe of no weighte, but rather captius and uncharitable, as condemninge the churche of England in publique prayer and use of the Sacraments to maynteine those things that be dyrectlye ageinste the Worde of God, yet for the quietinge or better dyrectinge of some moderate mynded which by occasion have bene drawne into some scruple aboute those things, I have layde downe myne opinion for the true interpretacon of the same in this wise."

Baptism by midwives. The Church does not hold that this is tolerable, or that children dying without baptism are damned. Indeed, the writer was present at a Convocation when it was decided that the clergy should preach against such baptism. The Book only declares that where baptism has taken place, "rebaptization be not admitted."

[1] See "A parte of a register," 94–118.

[2] Thomas Cooper was Bishop of Lincoln from 1571 to 1584.

The Cross in Baptism. The Cross is not esteemed as part of the Sacrament, it is but a sign, "made only in the ayre," and no superstition attaches to it.

"The Church is not to be debarred of her libertye for good causes to ordeine some ceremonies, alweies providinge that the[y] be nether in nomber manie, nor in significacion superstious[1], nether of which inconveniences...is in the ceremonies of this Church of England at this daye."

In the same moderate way, Cooper deals with other Puritan objections, such as the use of the Ring in Marriage, Godfathers, the statement "Receive thou the Holy Ghost" in the Book of Ordering, &c. Then he concludes:

"Divers other things ther are that some wayward persons will seme to stumble at, but the[y] are so sleight that I doubt not that those that have the spirit of moderacion and dyscretion will frame unto themselves a sufficient answer, rather then to maynteyne a defaceinge of that state of the Churche wherein God hath blessed us with great knowledge of his worde and truth. For this I dare saye, that since the verie age of the apostells unto this tyme we live in, ther was never anye Churche uppon the face of the earth that had so perfect truth of doctrine, nor so sincere administration of the Sacraments without superstition, as, thanked be God, this church of England now hath.

Therfore, the daungerousnes of those late daies considered, we should rather yelde most hartie thanks to God for the great blessings that we have, then to murmere at some small blemishes or imperfections that remaine. These things as I have charitabellye laid downe, for the satisfaction of some mindes, if it maie be, so I require yow to take my meaninge simplie, and not to carpe or cavill at words and sillables."

72. [.] Faults in the Book of Common Prayer. By "D. S." [D^r^ Some[2]].

The writer "makes no question either of the articles of religion or of her Ma^ties^ Supremacy." The faults he mentions are as follows:

1. "Certain chapters are prescribed to be read, wherein are gross errours." (Judith 9^{2}, Tobit 5^{12}, Ecclus. 46^{20} are examined.)
2. The use of the words "Receive the Holy Ghost" in ordaining

[1] As in MS.

[2] A Contents List has: "D. Some's reasons of not subscribing." This is no doubt D^r^ R. Some, who afterwards wrote against Penry, Barrowe, and Greenwood.

ministers[1]. The Bishops have no right to use these words, and "that the guifts of the holie ghost are not then given it is manifest, for many ignorant ministers neither were, nor are better furnished for those speeches of the Bish."

3. "Interrogatories are ministred to Infants in Baptism."

4. The sign of the cross is used in baptism.

5. Baptism in private houses and baptism by midwives are allowed.

6. The Book seems to make Confirmation necessary to salvation in some places, while in other places it teaches that "children being baptized have all things necessary to salvation and be undoubtedly saved," despite the fact that "many which have been circumcised and baptized have dyed out of Gods favour."

7. Errors in the Lessons.

These points should be reformed, or subscription not demanded. Such reformation would have four results:

1. It would please God.

2. It would link the learned ministers against the Papists.

3. It would cheer faithful Christians, who are sorrowing, and also encourage students to enter the ministry.

4. The "Popish and careles sort" would be more easily won to religion.

If it should be said that it would be a disgrace to the Church to alter the Book made by learned men, the answer is that the oversights of men, however worthy, "are not to be honoured by Subscription[2]."

"To conclude, if the amendment of the Booke were inconvenient, it must be said either in regard of a Protestant or a Papist. It cannot be inconvenient in regarde of a Protestant, for a very great number do pray very heartily unto God for it. If it were the obstinate Papist, we are not to passe[3], for they whose Captaines denie that we have either Church, Sacraments, ministers, or Queene in England, are not greatlie to be regarded of us."

73. [.] Faults in the Book of Common Prayer and Ordering of Ministers.

1—3. Errors in baptism, such as private baptism, the use of the sign of the cross, and the implied significance of the rite.

[1] Yet D. S. acknowledges ministers ordained according to the Book, "for otherwise I should doubt of mine own admission."

[2] Again, reformation would be no disgrace, "for mens second thoughts are wiser than the first."

[3] I.e. pause.

4. The use of the ring in marriage. If this part of the ceremony is purely civil, why should a minister have to perform it?

5. "The Booke of the Orderinge of ministers &c. hath mo faltes in it then this, as the consecratynge of Bisshops and enthroninge them like yonge popes into that lordlie dignitie, and makinge Deacons the firste step to the ministerie, read a part of his function, where in the Scripture it is evident that the office of the deacon consisteth onelie in the oversight of the poore; againe in that the election and ordination of the ministers is by that booke given to one man, the consente of the people beynge excluded, whiche be [*sic*, by] the worde is necessarilie required."

Further, there is no authority in God's Word for the use of the phrase "Receive ye the Holy Ghost."

"If this be to certifye a man of the inwarde guiftes of the spirite, howe comes it the B. make soe manye dombe ministers, in whome the guiftes of Gods spirit aperes not, thoughe they have had these wordes pronounced over them. And whie maye not a minister as well anoynt a sicke man with oyle accordinge to the commandment of God by the Apostle James, since helthe of bodie might sooner followe to manie sacye sick ones so anoynted then there dombe ministers will prove able preachers after these wordes vaynelie uttered over them."

74. [.][1] "Certayne considerations about the churchinge of weomen otherwise Cawled puryfication and covered with the name of thankesgivinge after childebirthe, to prove the same no thankesgivinge indeade but a disorderly custome rather, as apereth by the tenor aforesayd and by the common usage of it."

There are 23 considerations, showing that the ceremony is Popish, Jewish, "hereticall blasphemus and popish foollerie," "knavish presumption and presumptuous knaverie," "idle babblement," and altogether unnecessary.

Objection is taken to the minister being called a priest, and the following points are of especial interest:

H. "That the shredinge and manglinge and chopinge and changinge, tossinge to and fro the word of God six times at the

[1] Though this article is placed together with kindred undated articles, the reference to the books of Whitgift and Aylmer shows it was written several years after 1573.

least in so short a space is an unreverent and unshamefull pervertinge of Gods most holly and blessed ordinaunce."

L. "That the twise or thrise callinge of a woman Gods servant and commendinge her for a pertaker of Gods glory, who was never tried so to be for any sufficient skill in Gods word, but on the contrary as falleth out often tymes was proved to be a servant of sinne divers waies, namely by her bastard bearing, as by her lewde behaviour otherwise."

W. "That all well reformed churches have nothinge to do with this nor with any such lyke paltry ceremonies, additions, and works of Darkenes, but do reprove them rather."

X. "That first many popish writers and then Whitgyft and Elmers in ther severall bookes do by ther folish defences descry and declare the brainles disorder of this brablinge devise."

Y. "That this misorder as one petty bawde servethe holy and only to maintane the bare readinge ministry and consequently the proud popish prelacy, which be two of the most fylthy and grosse sines that are in the world.

That if parson pickthanke and pratinge prelate with ther masterly mates weare not all cater cozens to Tom pepinfather and to father Snachpeny, you should not have ther common portasse and popish lyturgy which they craftely and slanderously call the queenes booke for more dignety, for seets so comonly stuffed and pached with such monstrous fantasies as this is, wherof a man can not tell what to make, savinge only a certayne hoch poch or omnigatherum, sugested by the divill and brought in by the pope to make fooles spend ther pretyous tyme and necessary livelood Idle, and to make wyse folkes fall together by the eares spytefully, unlesse God send better grace, which he graunt in his mercy. Amen."

75. [.] A Petition from an Imprisoned Clergyman[1] to [the Bishop of London].

The writer desires to know the cause of his imprisonment, for he has done nothing tending to superstition, heresy, or idolatry, or to disturbance of the Church or Commonweal. He asks the Bishop to consider the flocks of Christ that lack teachers, "though not in London, yet in the most partes of the country." His imprisonment will do harm "to a great meny of poore simple souls...about the Minories," some of whom had not heard many sermons since the Queen's accession.

If his Lordship saw how the people were inclined to superstition and Popery, he would be loth to do anything to prevent teaching. The writer therefore asks to be released in order to

[1] No name is given.

exercise his ministry, or, if he be found unfit for that office, "to be secluded" from it.

76. [.] Ten Questions on Rom. 14.

These raise points in regard to the ceremonies on the usual Puritan lines. Nos. 9 and 10 read:

"9. Whether God doth hate Papysme or Newtrysme, and which of these ij Religions is mayntayned this day in England, or nether of them?

10. Whether all men are not bound to strive for the truth unto death, and that for so doing, are to be counted as evill doers, and punished worse then any Papist &c."

77. [.] "Faults of the booke gathered by M^r^ L.[1]"

Taking "the volume in 8^o^," M^r^ L. examines its services and rubrics, giving references to the volume in the margin.

The ministry of the Word has not its proper place. The Apocrypha is deemed a part of the Scriptures, parts of the Bible are preferred to other parts, while whole portions are omitted[2].

"What cause is there to lift up the Sacraments and other service etc. in pompe and glorie etc. so farre above the mynisterie of the worde, the instrument of life and sanctification to them."

Homilies are appointed to be read, and thus an unpreaching ministry is tolerated[3]. The vestments enjoined are "the knowne, usuall, and peculiar garment of the Idolatrous service of Antichrist," and they do not "agree with the simplicitie of the Gospell and basenes of the religion of the Crosse of Christ."

Altogether the book has many "remnantes of poperie,"

[1] Only a brief summary of this lengthy article is given. The "faults" are those customarily found by the Puritans.

[2] As an example of this M^r^ L. says:

"The Genealogie of Christ cut of[f] both in Matth. and Luke, where beside the injurie done to the holie ghost, and to the people of God in shutting out and in depriving them of anie part of the Word of God in the Church. As in this, so in manie other books and chapters of the Scriptures. It seemeth to require a ly, where in the direction of the chapt. before Te Deum, the mynister is appointed to saie, Here beginneth the 1 chap. of Matth., where it is but a piece of it."

[3] The Prayer in the Litany "to illuminate all Bishops, pastors &c., that by their preaching &c.," cannot be in faith, because "manie of the ignorant mynisters in this land being so verie old and blockish as that in the ordinary working of God it is impossible that ever thei should come to be able to preach in any measure of sufficiencie."

while in Baptism the whole ceremony seems to maintain the Popish doctrine that "salvation is tyed to the Sacrament ex opere operato."

M^r^ L. is glad to notice that in the Preface to the Commination, the Book "confesseth the wante of some godlie discipline."

As to the officers of the Church, the Book makes priests and bishops two different orders, and "utterly shuts out without any mention of him the unteaching elder." The office of Deacon set forth in the Book "never came from heaven," while the Diocesan Bishop "was never of Christs invention."

"If the Archdeacon and his deputie were sent home from whence thei came, I hope we should have our officers and ordination more agreeable to the worde of God....Where the Bishop biddeth the Archdeacon or his deputie to take heede &c., when they have conspired together to robbe and spoile the Churche of God of their lawfull examination and election, miserable experience sheweth with what a swarme &c. thei have pestered the Church with &c. for all their heede and the inquirie and examination he speaketh of."

78. [.] "An Abstract of corruptions out of the booke of Common prayer."

I. Seven general "corruptions," such as the reading of the Apocrypha, the keeping of holy days, and the use of "superstitious Ceremonies and mysticall Rits." Thus:

1. "It alloweth an unlearned and reading mynister."
2. "It nourisheth superstition and ignorance in the people and is an occasion of falling to the mynister."

II. Three "Faults in Baptisme," e.g., the Book

"confirmeth the popish doctrine of tying the grace of God to the outward Element, and making Baptisme a thing of absolute necessitie to salvation."

III. Two in the Lord's Supper.

IV. Three in Confirmation, which, by the fact that only a Bishop can confirm, is placed on a higher level than the Sacraments.

V. Two "inconveniences to the mynister."

79. [.] "Certaine Notes of Corruptions in the State of our Churche."

"There is not with us such order in the church for the guiding of it as agreeth with the Word of God, as that which foloweth doth more at large declare; which is ruled by the Canon law and Injunctions, many times besides, yea, contrary to, the Worde.

Divers deale in our church with that which belongeth to some certaine charge of the Church, and yet have no lawful calling to it; as women, who in case of necessitie, as thei call it, do baptize, but baptizing is a part of the mynisters office, whereunto women neither are, nor can be lawfullie called, and therfore this is an abuse which, without breach of this ordinance of God and prophanation of his holie Sacraments can not be endured.

We have no election of mynisters nor ordainyng, but a confused disorder of makyng them mynisters, and presenting by the patron instead of election, and induction by the Bishops in lieu of his ordayning, solemnized with ringing of his belles.

Churchwardens, Sidemen or Swornemen, and Collectors, which are not chosen, but for some certaine parish Church, but in the mynisters, in whome most of all it ought to be observed, this is nothing regarded, so that at some one ordering of one B., (wherof every B. may have[1] two in a yeere), have been made mynisters without any certayne charge 20, 30, 40, 50, yea, 60 at a time, which hath brought that reverend order of mynisters to that vilenesse, that, wanting places, they have gone and do dailie goe, from towne to towne, from Churche to Church to see what parsons have wanted Curates to serve them, yea, and some go over all the land, being staied in no place, preaching, as thei are bold to call it, but indeed prophaning the word of God, being such as are unable to preach.

This is intollerablie transgressed by Non residents for which the lawe in some case doth qualifie menne, so that it alloweth it in them.

With us the particular Churches generally have no interest in the choise of their mynister, as they have in the choise of the Churchwardens and Collectors, who are chosen by the consent of the vestrie, (as thei call it), that is, the housholders and freemen of the parish, and therfore are not called upon to pray to God for his directing of them; but onelie at the ordering of mynisters, the Common service saying is thought sufficient, and, many times contrary to the good will of the Church, an unfitte mynister is thrust upon them by the authoritie of those who have the dealing in this matter. This is nothing at all regarded, to the utter desolation of the church, if it be not amended, for as well the unlearned if he be able to read his service, is received into the ministery as the learned, expresselie contrarie to the Worde of God.

Some are received into the ministrie suddainlie, comyng newe almost from their poperie and errors, and a number knowne of long time to have bene enemies of the truth, and yet so continuinge, remaine in it; the examination is very sclender and insufficiente,

[1] MS. has "may may" for "may have."

which commonly is either of readinge onelie or construing some Latine sentence, and so, upon the reporters, be it the Archdeacon or anie of the Bs. Chaplaines, he is made mynister.

In some places the provision is good, but in a great number of other there is such want that a great number of Churches together have not sufficient for one fit mynister, and are therfore served with Curates.

Whereas in everie Church, by this article, there ought to be both a teacher or reader in divinitie, and a pastor, that is, a shephard or preacher; this is in very few places so, but some have onely a pastor, some onelie a reader of a lecture in Divinitie, and generallie the moste have neither of bothe. This office of late was taken away allmost in all places by commandement binding Readers of Lectures in Divinity to mynister the Sacraments allso, and, in places where it yet remaineth the teaching of the principles of religion for the use of children and other that be simple and ignorant, is not regarded. The pastors office being onely the mynistery of the word and sacraments with such like appendances as have been declared, is further with us surcharged with the buriall of the dead, and speciall service for it, as also with the Churching of women (as it is called), with a number of unprofitable ceremonies of the Church of Rome. In our Churches, notwithstanding there be publique mynistery of the word and sacraments, and therefore a publique society of a Church or Congregation, yet there are neither Deacons nor Elders.

The Censures of the Church are intollerably abused for every trifle, so that for a litle mony a man shall be suspended, yea, excommunicated from the bodie of Christ, and as easily receaved againe, yea, sometime verie godly men, without having any knowledge of it given them before, with a 1000 abuses in this kinde.

Remoovinge of mynisters is as fowlie abused; for such as are unworthie of the mynistery for their insufficiencie of learning or wickednes of life, are not removed, neither can be, as is pretended, and most woorthie men for trifles and everie mans pleasure are most easily cast out, though thei continue in everie respect without blame, as the Apostle understandeth blame, an intollerable abuse in Gods Church.

Our churches neither proceed in the excommunication of any, nor in case of those of the mynisterie (as they maie in the rest) can they either chuse or refuse.

Our Synodes are of mynisters onelie, and that but for a custome and use, or rather for the benefite of the Bishop and his officers, than for any use or service in the Church."

80. [.] "Collections out of the communion book."

"The reasons wherby I am perswaded that I may not lawfully assent that there ys nothing in the booke of common praer etc. repugnante or contrary to the word of God."

Twenty-five of the usual reasons are stated, and then comes the conclusion:

"Finally thes faultes aforesaid ar found by spedy perussing of the booke. Therfore yt may be thought that yf diligent examination thereof were made, many moe, perhaps greater faultes than thes, wold be found, especially in the translation of thes parcels of the holy Scriptures called the gospeles and the epistles. Also this we know that there ar many moe wherof we are not ignorant: but they seme not to be of so great importance, and yt wold be to[o] tedious to recite al. Thes may be sufficient to show that there ys just cause why we shuld not rashly geve our consent to the booke, as in al points agreing with the Worde of God."

81. 1575. "The order of the prophesie at Norwich in A°. 1575 begun sede vacante."

"Orders to be observed in this exercise of Prophesie."

[These are similar to Orders extant for other dioceses; they are printed in Browne's *Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*, 18–20.]

82. [.] "An Order to be used for the trayning upp and exercising of Students in Divinitye, whereby they maye be made fitt and meete to dyscharge the dewtyes belonging to that profession."

Endorsed on reverse side: "Orders for a Conference used by M^r^ Chaderton of Cambridge[1]."

"Because it is necessarye that everye mynister should be able to teache sound Doctrine by the true interpretation of the Word, and to confute all contrarye errours by unanswerable arguments and reasons: These two meanes following maye seeme to be verye requisite for the attayning unto the aforesaid principall gifts of the mynistrye.

I. The first is mutuall conference of such as being very studious and of such good towardnes in learning, have purposed only the profession of divinytye. The Order whereof is this: All that come to this conference are to begynne the bible, and to proceed unto the end thereof, conferring of so muche at one time as shall convenyentlye serve for the finishing of the whole once in two yeres or there abowts. In performaunce thereof, they must diligentlye searche out by them selves the trewe sense and meaning of the

[1] Either William Chaderton, who left Cambridge to become Bishop of Chester in 1579; or Laurence, who for nearly fifty years was lecturer at St Clement's Church, and for nearly forty years Master of Emmanuel (the first Master).

text appointed, using the helpe of all these guiftes following.... The which God hath promised an given to his Churche for that purpose."

These "guiftes" are:

1. Knowledge of the tongues, especially Hebrew and Greek.
2. The art of Rhetoric[1].
3. Logic—the art of Reasoning.
4. Comparison of similar places of Scripture.
5. The study of learned commentators, old and new, "not differing from them, but upon just occasion."
6. Knowledge of Greek and Latin History.

"When everye one of them by all theise guiftes, or by so many as they could, hath diligentlye examyned the text, Two of them shalbe appointed to deliver breifly in speache that which they are perswaded to be the meaning therof, adding reasons for the proofe of the same; the rest shall heare and judge, and then by objecting and answering in good order, confer togeather of the interpretations till they departe. If they dissent in opynion, they shall make it a question, and so determyne it by disputation, as in questions of doctrine...."

II. "The seconde meane is Dysputation, which is profitable for defence of the truth and the confutation of errour, the manner whereof to be according to the usuall custome practised in all Universities. In this dysputation all the principall questions in controversie betweene us and the Papists and other hereticks, shall be handled and determined in the aforesaid time of two yeares."

Finally, two books are to be made, in which the "interpretations of hard and doubtfull places" shall be entered, and all questions disputed and determined recorded.

83. [1576.] "Orders for reformation of abuses about the learned exercises and conferences among the Ministers of the Church."

These orders are printed in Strype's *Grindal*, 327–8[2].

[1] This "teacheth trewly to dyscerne proper speaches from those that are tropicall and figurative."

[2] Note these differences:

§ 6. 1. MS. "at any state"; Strype, "against any state."
2. MS. "the acknowledging of his offence"; Strype, "the knowledge of his offence."

§ 8. 1. MS. "or inhibited"; Strype, "and inhibited."
2. MS. "streight order"; Strype, "strict order."

84. 1576. "The Archbishops booke offered to the Queene in the matter of the ministerie and of prophesie, the 10th of December, 1576[1]."

This is a copy of Grindal's famous letter to the Queen. It is quoted by all ecclesiastical historians, and printed in full in the *Remains*. [376–90.]

85. 1577. A letter from the Bishop of London to his Archdeacons, instructing them to carry out the injunctions contained in the Queen's letter to the Bishops, which he encloses.

This letter of the Queen, dated May 7th, 1577,—that is, after Grindal had refused to suppress the prophesyings—commands the Bishops to put a stop to these gatherings in their respective dioceses; it is printed in full in Strype, *Grindal*, 574–6 and Neal, 284 n.

86. 1577. A letter from the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield to Thomas Lever, Archdeacon of Coventry ("or in his absence to the censors of the Exercise there").

This is dated June 18th, 1577, and is in pursuance of the Queen's commands *re* the prophesyings; it is printed in Neal, 286.

87—8. [1577 ?] Two Supplications of the Parishioners of Aldermary to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Leicester.

1. Knowing that the Earl has "procured the libertie and restoring againe of sundrie learned and painfull prechers to their places that were dismissed," the petitioners beg him to secure that John Field might return "to his place of reading againe." Field is described as

"our preacher, one knowen unto your H., and having bene towards your Honorable brother these twenty yeares[2], being likewise tryed

[1] The original letter does not seem to have been preserved. The draft in the Lansdowne MSS. (23. 12) is endorsed by Burghley "Dec. 20th 1576." Cooper (*Ath. Cant.* I. 474) says, without stating any authority:

"There is no date to this memorable letter. The 20th Dec. 1576 has been usually assigned to it, *but the 8th of that month seems more probably correct.*"

[2] Meaning doubtful. Possibly a word missing, describing some office that Field held to Leicester's "Honorable brother," i.e. the Earl of Warwick. There is no trace of such office, however.

of us, to be both sincere, painfull and dutifull in his calling by his carefull travaile and faithfull paines taken amongst us, we entertaining him of our own charge and purses...."

2. For four years M^r^ Field had "labored painfullie" amongst them, "preching purelie the word of God, and catechising our youth, teaching obedience to God and our prince, and keeping us in great good order." Now, "since his restraint and inhibition," they are left as scattered sheep upon the mountains, and they therefore pray the Earl to procure his restoration. There is no just cause for his sequestration; he has behaved himself as a wise and faithful Christian, and

"the things urged by law, whatsoever his opinions be, were never hindered, impugned, or anie waies resisted by him, but were duelie kept and observed in our Church."

The petitioners maintained Field themselves, and they consider it especially harsh that he should have been removed without cause, when "so manie bad ones" remain "in the ministerie,...pestering it on everie side." They have approached the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London in vain, and "in this scarcitie and drought of Gods guifts," they ask the Earl to consider "what enormities muste needs grow" if true preachers are restrained.

89—93. 1577. Correspondence between Thomas Cartwright and certain Puritan Ministers.

[Most of the correspondence is translated in "A parte of a register," 401–8, under the title "The judgement of certaine godlie Preachers upon the Question propounded, answering the reasons of a good brother as followeth."]

I. The Question of "The Brethren" (Lat.)[1].

"Whether the Ministerie bee for certaine ceremonies that are of the dregges of Poperie (namelie...) laid uppon them under pretence of Church pollicie onlie, and not with any opinion of worship or religion to be forsaken or no?"

II. Cartwright's Reply (partly Lat., partly Eng.)[2].

Thinks the ministry should not be forsaken in spite of the

[1] Eng. trans. in "A parte of a register," 401.

[2] Eng. trans. in "A parte of a register," 401–2.

unlawfulness and "discommoditie" of the ceremonies. There is such great necessity of preaching, "that woe is to them, if they preach not the Gospel."

The reply has a conclusion in English, which is missing from "A parte of a register." It reads:

"Touchinge the matter of these popishe ceremonies I have drawen out into fewe words the principal poincts of the whole treatise, which either I have written in this matter before, or shal nowe in this later parte[1] where this tractate is handled. Therof I have had the judgement of the professors and ministers in Heidelberge, which approved it. I would if you have so much leasure as to let me understand the brethrens judgment in time, howe thei like of this, and if thei do not, to send me their reasons which lead them to thincke otherwise."

III. "The judgement of certaine brethren concerning the matters premised[2]."

Signed by:

"†Jo. Feildus
†Thomas Wilcocksus
Thomas Penny
†Nico. Stondonus
Arthurus Wakus
Henricus Salusburius
†Nico. Cranus
†Egidius Seintclerus
Ricardus Gawton
Georgius Gilderdus"

The brethren's judgment is that the ministers should in no wise tolerate the ceremonies. Taking Cartwright's own arguments, they say:

"Now then if these ceremonies be of the dregges of poperie, if they be laid upon us, onely under the pretence of Church pollicie, if they offende the weake brethren, if they ought not to bee allowed as fit and convenient for the doctrine of the Gospel, if the discommoditie of them is to be taught in a due and convenient time, we think in so saying, that knot is knit which is not yet unloosed."

IV. A Letter[3] to "Brother Cartwright," sent with the above judgment.

Dated from London 25 Ma.[4] 1577, and signed by:

"Your brethern in Jesus Christe, Richarde Gawton, Thomas Penny, Nathanael Baxter, George Gyldred, Jo. Feilde, Nyc. Crane,

[1] No doubt *The Rest of the Second Replie...*, which was published in 1577.

[2] Of the two Latin copies, the one in O.L.P. 176 lacks several paragraphs, and has only the five names marked †. The Eng. trans. is in "A parte of a register," 402–8.

[3] Not given in "A parte of a register."

[4] ? March or May.

Gyles Seyntcler, Nicholas Stondon, Thomas Wilcoks, Henry [Salisbury][1]."

"...Brother Cartwright, we your brethern, who have hereunto set our name, have upon some good grounds thoght it meete to write these few lines unto you. We wished indeed that a lettre of our heartie salutation in the Lord might have sufficed for this present, but seing that further occasion is offered by your desiring in a question, and the necessitie and case of the Church (which here is very lamentable) and in a manner required otherwise, we hope you wil brotherlie beare with us somewhat largely and freely uttering of our judgement and the reasons thereof touching the question and answer propounded unto us.

We send you inclosed..., in such sort as we did sett the same down to the bretheren that requested the same of us, praying you to consider therof, as apperteyneth to a cause so grave and weighty. We for our own parts stand resolved that what we have don touching this matter of ceremonies, as the crosse, etc., is most agreable to Gods Word and the testimonie of a good conscience grounded theron, which minde we hope you are of, not withstanding whatsoever you have written privately, as desirous, perhaps, to understand other mens minds. Your first boke extant to the view of the godlie is, (as we are persuaded), [as with] us here, so with your self, farre more authentical than any schrole or paper of yours whatsoever[2]. And g[round] there is, why it shold be so with both, because the Churches with you (as you your self write) have approved [and] allowed the summe thereof; to goe backe from which what were it els but to fight against your self [and] tread under feete the judgement of the Church and brethern. And therefore in our minds it were a great [deal] better not to write any whit at all touching this point than in your writings to set your selfe against your selfe, and against the Church and brethern also, to whome the defence of Gods glorie is so deare, that we wil labor (the Lord strengthening us) even in the smalest things, (as men cal them), to the uttermost of our power, before God and good men, and therefore will not g[ive] over, or at anie hand betraie the truth which it hath pleased God in his great goodnes to make known in this and in other points.

[1] MS. torn, and surname missing; probably it should be Salisbury. Conjectures throughout the letter are bracketed thus [ ].

[2] For another indication of Cartwright's change of position, compare Edmund Chapman's letter to him, March 1582/3 (?) [Usher, *Presbyterian Movement*, 77]:

"And what though now after a second vew of yo^r^ proceedinge in this great cause of Church goverment, yow find that some thinges are not unjustly found fault w^th^all, yet oughte not that much [to] afflicte you, seeing yow are not the first man of fame, lerninge and piety, that have confessed and retracted some error, if the substantiall and mayne pointes of yo^r^ worke stande."

We are well persuaded that you know we do nothing contentiouslie, like as therin we are cleare in our selves, before the Lord and al godlie men. But it is our mind to let you understand that the iniquitie of the time wherin we live and the great trialles that we, together with you, do beare for this [cause], and a thousand such other afflictions shall not (the lord assisting us) make us to quaile or shrinke in the mainten[ance] of so good and just a matter. The same good opinion we have also conceaved of you, nothing at al doubting but that he who hitherto hath made you a glorious witnesse to his truth will strengthen you stil to run forward in that course. And yet we thinke it meete, that in respect both of our own dulnes to good things, [and the] naughtines of the daies which are come upon us, every one, yea, the quickest amongst us, shold be pricked forward, and at no hand to go backward in the causes of God, seeing the world is so backeward in religion and earnest and readie in things wicked and ungodlie.

But because we deale with you whom both for learning [and] godlines we verie much love and reverence in the lord, and touching whom we hope that a litle [said will] suffice in this behalf, we are the more spare herein, and so for this time commend you unto God and the word of his grace, which is able and no doubte shall in good time build further both in you and us, to the glorie of his name and our endlesse comforte at the laste in Christe."

V. A Letter from Antony Gilby to Thomas Cartwright[1].

"Whereas our brethren demand this question aboute our Engleshe controversies; whether for certain dregges of popishe Ceremonies...under the pretence of ecclesiasticall policye the ministry ought to be forsaken or no? We answer that they which propownde this question eyther [do][2] not understande the chief poyntes of the Controversie, or els they would cover them very conningly."

1. "For first wee deny that man maye saifly change the dreggs of popery...with Christian polycye."

2. [In England, these things remain as religion, not as mere policy.]

3. "We deny that a true ministre of Christe ought to use and allowe all these dregges of poperye that yet do remayne in our churche, but that he must labour diligently by doctrine and example to roote forth such manifest superstitions and corruptions of Religion....And thoughe he be thrust forth of his charge for doinge this dutie, and so banished or imprisoned, yet can he not be

[1] There is no heading to the letter, but an old List of Contents in the centre of the volume has the title "Gilbys answer to Cartwright," with a reference to these pages.

[2] The edges of the MS. are frayed, and one or two words have to be conjectured.

counted to forsake his flocke, but his banishment or imprisonment declareth his fedelitie and still preacheth and confirmeth the truth of his doctrine."

These three points are then expounded at length.

1. God does not wish any ceremony of true religion to be brought in for policy[1]. His Word is the only rule: if earthly policy is introduced, light and darkness are mixed.

"Those dregges of popishe Sacramentes and Ceremonies as the Surplus, the Crosse, etc. were dedicated and servede unto Idolatrye, and so to the devill. We maye have no fellowship with the devill."

We must show an example of purity, for we are Christ's ministers. If, as Ambrose and Tertullian teach, men are cast down to hell if they observe *Jewish* ceremonies,

"how can this be good policye,...to make Christes ministers to go like the servants of Antichriste, of Idoles, and so of the devill.... Hath any prince authoritie thus to abuse Gods ministers, to abuse their ministery....But now it is one of [the devil's] chef instruments to stopp the course of the gospell, to mayntein his dome dogges in the ministery, and to thruste out of their places the true and zealous preachers without whome religion shall waxe colde and become an outwarde hypocriticall shewe, onely for custome and policye. Agayne the maintenance of this popishe geare doth breede an horible debate and contention emonge the best and learned, who shold be the shyninge lightes unto others....This haltinge in Religion for policye dryveth awaye the true feare of God forth of mens hartes, and so the corruption of maners and Atheisme doth spread every where."

Look where Solomon's policy led him! God's Word is clear (Jer. 4): "Turne unto me with all your harte, saith the lorde, and put awaye thyn abominations." So the people of God, as Josiah and Jehu, have always "rooted out and destroyed all monuments of superstition and Idolatrye." Therefore spare not, but burn the idol cities,

"so that none of that damnede thinge that is in them shall cleave unto the hande, sayth the lorde. And can man sett down any better policye then God."

Bishop Gardiner, "the popes grand Captayne here in Englande in his time," believed and wrote that Popery stood

[1] Many Old Testament illustrations are given.

on a lot of little things, unimportant in themselves, just as a rich man's fortunes is made up of farthings, and all the Papists see this is true. No leaven must be left, therefore, to leaven the lump, but all, and especially ministers, should labour to cast "all his filthy dregges forth of all Churches, of all Courtes and Corners."

Therefore the only church policy should be that set forth in God's Word, and practised in God's churches. The church must be the "chast spowse of Christ," and not a "romish harlot." Many examples of the "Popish dregges" can be given, "but these maye suffice to declare that no dregges...can saifly be changed into Christian policye":

(*a*) Instead of the discipline set down in God's Word to reprove sin, we have their courts, "which make a riche gayne of sinne."

(*b*) "As also the refusinge to have ministers electede by the Congregation, and grave Elders that will be carefull for the flocke," allowing every unworthy man that will pay for a benefice.

(*c*) Deacons are made a degree in the ministry, and so they gape after benefices instead of providing for the poor.

2. *The surplice* was one of the "massing garments,...and was causa sine qua non in their religion as in ours."

"As with us, every dolte allowede for a minister that will were a surplus, and without this surplus, neither learninge nor vertue can take place."

Thus the people count "this popishe Ragge and Anti-christian trashe" of more value than learning and virtue, especially when they see the Sacraments cannot be administered without it.

Similarly the cross in Baptism and the laying on of hands of the Bishops in Confirmation are "not mere policye, but rather manifest impiety." They are additions to the ordinances of Christ, and if they are justified, so are "oyle and chrisme and many other toyes."

"So in the steade of the olde beaste popery that is wounded to death by Gods worde, we rayse up this seconde beaste policye to do all that the other beaste dyde before."

Kneeling at Communion, Saints' days, the answers in Baptism, private Sacraments, and the use of the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," are instanced as "nether good in religion nor policye," and many more examples could be given.

"But these few maye suffice for the presente to prove most evidently that the Dregges of poperye retaynede in our Churche of Englande are no mere policye, as was pretended by the question of the brethren, but that they remayne still in the Churche as matters of religion."

3. The real question is not "whether for carteine ecclesiasticall policies men maye forsake the ministery," but rather,

"whether we maye yelde for the commandments of man to use in our ministery, even in Christes holye Sacraments manifest superstition and corruption of Religion;...whether we oughte with our handes to subscribe and with silence to consente to suche enormities."

And the answer is plain. We must do what the Lord commands, and abstain from every appearance of evil, following the churches of God for traditions, and not the synagogues of Satan. Christ abhorred outward show and ceremony, and commanded that the Sacraments should be administered "in all simplicitie." Therefore "why mixe we Christes religion with that harlitrye of the pope?" Princes and people alike must follow God's Word, "and it is the dutie of the true servantes of God to tell both prince and people what they ought to do in matters of religion[1]."

Christian liberty is acknowledged, but it is not liberty to use Antichristian things. True Christians have always protested against men's inventions in the church, even when these were not impious, and for this they have always been persecuted by those in authority, for "man doth so mightily love his owne fonnde devises." Now traditions are urged more than God's orders.

"Wherfore it is the dutie of all faythfull pastors to call men continually from all their own phantasies to the onely obedience of the worde of the eternal God;...to call men from all popishe corruptions, and from all crooked haltinge betwyxe two religions. And yf it so come to passe whiles they labor to roote out Antichristian Inventions, that they be put from their charges, driven

[1] Old Testament illustrations given.

from place to place, put in prison, or otherwise persecuted, they have the examples of prophetes, of the Apostles and Christ himselfe, that they maye give place to the rage of the persecutor....And yf further extremytie do follow, as hath fallen upon som of our brethren, and is threatned unto others, our exile and banishment, or other adversitye, shall preach more effectually then the worlde supposeth."

It will not be "Woe unto us," but unto those who prevent our preaching; we are ready to pray for them, but utterly refuse to turn back to their corruptions.

94. 1576. A Petition[1] to [the Lord Treasurer?] from six Norwich ministers, dated Sep. 25th, 1576. The signatories are John More, Richard Crick, Thomas Roberts, George Leeds, Richard Dowe, and William Hart.

The petitioners thank God that, although busied with many affairs, his Lordship puts religion in the first place, and often supports true preachers by his letters. They trust that God will bless his "so nighe accesse" to the Prince, that the church may profit thereby.

"As touching your Letters wherein your Honor writeth that her Ma^tie^ is fullie bent to remove all those that cannot be perswaded to conforme themselves to all the orders established, It grieveth our soules verie muche, considering what desolacion is like to come to the poore flocke of Christe, who shalbe therbie bereved of so manie excellent pastors that dare not yeld to that conformitie."

Nevertheless they pray for a "happie issue," and lament the sins of the land, "which be the cause that so godlie a prince is sett so sore against so godlie a cause."

"For our owne parts, although we do and fullie will yield unto our Sovereigne prince our Bodies, goods, and lives, yet herein we dare not yeld to this conformitie of ceremonies, for feare of that terrible threate of the Lord Jesus, who saieth it were better that a millstone &c...."

They abstain rather than cause a weaker brother to stumble, and, while acknowledging the Queen's power and recognising the great blessings which have come to the land through her, "dare not but...examine all lawes by that same woorde which

[1] In part in Browne's *Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk* (24, *q.v.* for notes on the ministers concerned).

must rule all." Indifferent things, if at all offensive, should not be used, and all things should be done to edifying. Therefore they

"dare not yelde to those ceremonies that be so farre from edifying and building uppe the Churche, that they have rent in sundre and miserablie torne in peeces this our churche to the miserable ruine of the same, as God knowith by experience is to[o] well knowen through the whole Churche. And unlese the Lord graunt some mitigacon, it is to be feared a greater will ensue when by the severe urging of them so many excellent guifts as God has blessed this Church withall shalbe stopped and made hereby unprofitable.

Upon these grounds of Scripture...do wee stande, that wee dare not yelde in these things, and yet during the tyme we have bene in our calling, wee never muche busied ourselves with them in our Sermons, but diligentlie have laboured to teache our flocks salvation in Jesus Christe, repentance from dead woorks, true and unfeyned obedience to our godlie and gratious Prince, in God and for God laboring alwaies to keepe the peace and quietnes of the Churche in the bonde of the Sprite. And in this our travell, we have founde the Lord favorable unto us, and wonderfullie blessing our ministery to the great benefite of the Churche.

Nowe whereas...the Q....is hereuppon incensed that wee will be obedient to no lawes, that wee would be Lords and Kings ourselves, that wee woulde pull the Crowne from her heade, and swoorde out of her hand, that wee would erect a newe popedome: To putt her Ma^{tie} out of doute of the untruthe of theis, and to testifie of our true loyaltie..., we take the Lord God...to record unto our consciences that we acknowledge from the bottome of our harts Her Highnes to be our lawfull Queene, placed by God over us for our good and wealth. Wee give God most humble and hartie thanks for her happie government over us. Wee praie in our publique sermons weeklie and in our private prayers dailie for this prosperous government of her Ma^{ties} over us. Wee renounce all forreyne government and acknowledge her Ma^{ts} Title of Supremacie to be lawfull and just. Unto this Her Highnes lawfull government, wee acknowledge ourselves, bodies, goods, lands, and life, in all obedience to be subject. Wee detest all heresies, as well of the olde as those which Sathan hathe raised up in our daies. As Anabaptistrie, the heresie of the Libertines, the familie of love, and all puritanisme and suche like. Wee confesse our synnes, and with the churche wee praie continuallie, forgive us our synnes. While wee are in our callings by authoritie placed, wee walke in our callings as peaceablie as wee can bothe with God and man. When wee are by authoritie displaced wee, as peaceablie, without muttering, give place. Onlie we humblie desire her Ma^{tie} not to thinke us disobedient for that wee suffer ourselves rather to be displaced then to yeld to certen things. Our Bodyes, goods, lands, life, Wife and Children be in her Ma^{ties} hands, onlie our soules, which must be either saved

or dampned, we reserve to our God, who alone is able to save or dampne."

The petitioners know

"that if her Ma^tie were perswaded of anie one pointe established, that could not be warranted by the worde, she would not sleepe till it were reformed,"

and therefore they beseech the Lord Treasurer and others who have access to the Queen, to show her the truth.

The ceremonies are offensive and they do not edify; yet the laws touching them are "more severelie urged and more streightlie punished" than God's own laws; but Jesus said "Woe be to you that tithe mynt and annis and cummin and leave the weightier matters of the lawe," and also "Ye make the commandement of God of no effect by your tradicons."

Again God's command that a Pastor should

"be able to teach, is not half so narrowlie looked unto nor streightlie executed, as those Lawes of Ceremonies. And it doth appeare commonlie through the Land that he maie be allowed to remaine a pastor in his charge if he be conformable to the ceremonies commanded, althoughe he be not hable to teache, which is commanded by God, and flatte sett downe.

And againe, althoughe he be never so hable to teache as God biddeth, yet if he be not hable to conforme himselfe to such ceremonies as man bid he shall not remaine a Pastor."

If the Queen knew the sin committed in urging the ceremonies,

"she would not one day further proceade to urge them. For our owne parts, we dare not for all the whole worlde yield unto them. And if the Bishoppe proceade to urge them as he hathe begonne, surelie it will bring a wonderfull ruine to this Churche heare in Norwich and rounde aboute. There be alreadie 19 or 20 godlie Exercises of preching and Catechizing putt downe in this Cittie by the displaceing of those preachers. The excellent estate of so happie a cittie begynneth alreadie herby to be wunderfullie altered from her former comlie bewtie to teares and mourning, when she seethe her godlie pastors violentlie pulled from her. In the place from whence flowed the swete mercies of the Lord, in his messengers, nothing nowe but solitarines and silence....And we humblie crave at your Hons. hands to helpe in this case with those guifts that God hathe given you both with Prince and Bishopps consecrate therin to the Lords use. If you can doe anything with our B., move him to be more earnest with the Papists, enemies to God and our Prince. If he take this course he is never like to prevaile with

them, for hereby while he is busied against good Christians, these enemies gather strength, seeing all the force of lawe bent against the true professors and toucheth not them."

95—7. 1578. The Ministers of Norwich.

1. "The submission of the prechers of Norwiche[1]. Aug. 21st 1578."

"The ministers underwritten ryghte humblie crave favour to be restored to preachinge upon subscription unto all those articles which only concerne the confession of the true christian faithe and the doctrine of the Sacraments, which be the words of the Statute.

And as concerninge the matter of Ceremonies, order, and government, they acknowledge that they are so farre tollerable that for the same no man ought to withdrawe himselfe from hearinge the worde of God, and receipte of the sacraments, nether ought any minister for these to refuse to preche the Worde of God and to administer the Sacraments.

John Moore	Vincent Goodwine	John Mapes
Rych. Crick	Rych. Dowe	
Thom. Robertes	George Leedes."	

2. "The forme of a licence to prech to the seid ministers."

[A Latin extract, being the Bishop of Norwich's licence[2] to the ministers to preach throughout his diocese "durante beneplacito." The licence admonishes the ministers not to raise contentious points of doctrine or ceremonies in their sermons, or to mention anything tending to "altercationem vel innovationem."]

3. "The offer of the ministers of Norwiche to the B."

"Whereas in doubts that maye arise concerninge anythinge in the Communion booke, the preface annexed to the same booke not only giveth all men free libertie, but willeth them to demaunde the resolution of such doubts of the B. of diocesse: We therfore...(not in depravation of the booke or any thinge therein, but for the quietinge of our consciences, beinge nowe urged to subscribe thereunto) humbly craveth of your L. the resolution of these doubts followinge.

[1] The copy of this article in N.L.P. 123 has the additional words: "The admission of the Ministers I hear was by the Counsell, whereat I hear that the Bishops stormeth, but how true it is I know not. Mr Michell sent this news to Mr Johnson." A marginal note in another hand reads: "This is true: v. vol.2 p. 85...."

[2] Almost certainly the Bishop of Norwich. Browne [*Congregationalism*, &c., 25 f.], following Neal, says the Archbishop of Canterbury, both probably being misled by the fact that Grindal and Freeke had the Christian name "Edmund."

As for other matters dependinge in controversie betweene the writers, viz. of Bapt. by women as it is to be gathered by the words of the booke..., if it please your L. to resolve us of them it wilbe a great staye to our consciences. If otherwise you referre us to the publike answere in writeinge, we are to waite and hope for a fuller resolution from him that hath taken in hand to answere them. Wherein untill we be resolved by the worde of God we dare not, as faine we would, so freely subscribe to all the things contained in the booke; as we have bene and allwayes wilbe readye to subscribe and sweare to the first article concerninge hir mat[s] authoritie."

The usual Puritan objections to "the booke" follow, five being developed at length.

Then we have "The Archbishops Answer" in the words:

"Seinge therefore the resolution of doubts that maye arise in the booke of common prayer is by expresse wordes of the same booke given to the B., you oughte obediently to receave the meaninge delivered by them in things doubtefull, and not wilfully to sticke to your owne imaginations and fancies."

Probably by Lokesth. not Bacon

98. 1578. A letter from [Lord Keeper Bacon] to the Bishop of [Peterborough], Sept. 27th, 1578.

The original of this letter concerning the state of the ministry in Northampton is B.M. Harleian MS. 398. 21; it has been printed in the Rev. R. M. Serjeantson's *History of All Saints' Church, Northampton.* [1901, 111.]

99. 1581. "Articles sent to the Bishops and Cleargye in the convocation house.... From the Marshalsye by John Nasshe [Nash or Nashe] the Lordes prisoner 1580 Januarye."

After quoting Jeremiah to show that he is cursed "that doth the work of the lorde negligentlye or deceitfullye," and he is blessed "that trusteth in the Lorde, whose hope the Lorde is," Nashe says that Christ's ministers are always known by Paul's "rule and example" (Acts 20^{20-8}), where "Paule sheweth forth all the counsell of God and kept nothing back."

"For Paule sayth (1 Cor. 11^{23}) that which I delivered unto you I receaved of the Lorde Jesus etc. But you, byshoppes and cleargye, shall never bee able to prove that the 4 horned cappe, Rochett, caule, cope, surples, godfathers and godmothers in baptem, crossynge children in the forhead at baptisme, and women baptisynge children, and unpreachinge prelates, dum dogges and tyme servers, with tot

quots, pluralityes, non residens, and the courte of facultyes, with all suche popishe and heathenishe orders and ceremonyes etc. And I saye to you agayne that you shall never bee able to prove that they came from God, nor receaved from him nor allowed of him in his Worde by the Prophettes or Apostles, nor by Jesus Christe himself."

The Scriptures repeatedly say that he is cursed who adds to or takes from God's holy word, and so the clergy make themselves "execrable and accursed in receavinge those popishe garmentes, worldlye ordinances, and traditions of men." The popish church received these from Antichrists, the Devil's children, and Christ's ministers should have nothing to do with them, but should rather obey Paul (2 Cor. 6), "Sett yourselves at large...and beare not the strangers yoke with the unbelievers."

"Here you shewe yourselves to bee infidels, and therfore wee have no part nor fellowshippe with you, nor with your haltynge religion and traditions etc.

For wee are commanded to come out from amonge you that wee touche none of your uncleane thinges, neither with our eye, harte, mynde, nor hande, and in so dooyng and in seperatynge ourselves from you and your dissimulations, God hath promised to bee our father, and wee shall bee his sonnes and daughters...."

It is no excuse for those who wear "that idoul surples...and worshippe God after the facion and manner of the Anti-christian Church of Rome" to say that they "weare them for order and comlines sake." "Gods owne order is sufficyent inioughe for Gods owne churche and children," and cursed is he who follows any other.

Those who destroy not utterly "all idolatrous stuffe" do God's work negligently, and therefore are accursed, and as Achan

"made all Israell accursed before God...even so, you bishops and cleargye have made all England accursed, that walketh with you in your dissimulation in consentinge and agreeinge in thos popish and antichristian ceremonies, traditions, and worldlye ordinances. But you, bishoppes and cleargye, in detestation of Gods true religion, maynteyne popishe ceremonyes and worldlye ordinances and persecute the true Christians that will not...agree with you in thesse your abominations;...and here you shewe yourselves heretikes ...by your persecutions in persecutinge the true Christians for that

they will not bee partakers with you in Antichrystes Ryghtes and ceremonys etc.

But the true christians can have no fellowshippe with these additions etc., for they are nowe made verye idolles indeede, becaus you exalte them above the worde of God, for hee that will not weare them nor consent unto them shall not preache nor minister, bee hee never so godlye and learned a man; in this your tyranye, you maynteyne and extoll them above the worde of God, in that you persecute and imprison some, to the death of the faythfull servaunts of the Lord, whose names[1] here followe.

1. Randall partrag.
2. giles fowler.
3. Thomas Bowland.
4. M^r^ Pattenson, preacher.
5. John Kynge.
6. M^r^ fitz, preacher
7. John Lernarde
8. and Margrett Racye
9. and the wyffe of M^r^ cauſlen,

and others, all thees were godlye and zealous christians and dyed by your tyrannous imprisonment and cruell tyrannye. Theese with all their companye abhorred all false sects and Schismes, errors, and herecyes, and all papistrye, and all false and fayned religion, and stoode faste to Chrystes institution and holye religion to the death, those that dyed departed constant Christians, even in your persecution.

Marke this, your dealynges well, what you nowe bee, was bloudye Bonner a more cruell tyraunt in his generation...then you bee nowe in your profession. No, no, you shewe your selves in these your doyngs more wicked then hee, for Bonner would never persecute anye for beynge zealous in the Popes religion, which hee professed, nor kepe them 9 or 10 yeares in prison, but you lyke shameles hypocrytes, professinge Chrystes religion, and would bee called zealous christians, and yett contrarye to all christianitye, you playe the Scrybes and Pharisyes, you persecute Chryste in his members....

Theese and suche lyke Christians doo you imprison and impoverish all you can, all that wyll not yeeld to your dissimulation; you have had, at the least a thowsand persons in this citye of London, that were well bent and godlye minded, yea, and verye zealouslye goynge forwarde in the Lordes true religion, and had joyned their hartes and handes to the sincere worshippinge of God.

[1] For some of these names see: M^r^ Burrage's *Early English Dissenters*, II. 9–18; D^r^ Powicke's article, "Lists of the Early Separatists" [*Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.* I. 141–58]; "A parte of a register," 23–37 [reprinted in Grindal's *Remains*, 201 ff.]; Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, VI. 178 [the last a paper *re* Pattenson printed from *S.P.D.* xliv. 20].

fierst, to faythfull prayer.

2, and to the true and sincere preachinge of the holye worde of God.

3, and to the true institution and ministration of the sacraments accordynge to the same heavenlye and almightye worde onelye, without anye traditions or inventions of man, and lastlye, to have not the filthye canon lawe, but disciplyne onelye and alltogether agreeable to the same...worde..., and to none other.

I saye theese have you most wickedlye plucked back agayne into your dissimulation and hypocrisye, and now are they with you beecome bondmen of men and slaves of Sathan, and as dogges turned to their owne vomitt agayne in turninge to the filthye myer of popishe ceremonyes and mens traditions, from which they were once freed, and are altogether become neuters, neither could nor hotte, but suche God will spewe out of his mouth..., for this you knowe, that no weaklynge shall inheritt the kingdome of heaven."

In addition many of these one-time Christians have become "mere blasphemers agaynst the manifest trueth of God and his worde." Their blood shall be required at the hands of those who misled them, even the bishops and clergy....

"Moreover, here followe certayn errors that by the Byshoppes and cleargye are maynteyned in the Churche of England, which are not commaunded of God in his worde."

1. Many popish priests are still allowed in the ministry, "moste of them dumb dogges and no preachers." These sung Mass in King Henry's days, ministered in King Edward's time, sung Mass again in Queen Mary's days, and now again minister—they are not Christ's ministers, but blind leaders of the blind.

2. Many more are "false Prophettes and tyme servers," who have held office from Edward VI's time.

3. "...the Byshoppes callynge is not agreeable to the holye worde of God, in callynge their ministers, in givinge them orders in their owne houses, and some that are neyther sounde in the faythe, nor honest in livynge, and some which were presented to the Byshop by a gentlemans letter or Ryng, some suche I knowe, which gentleman hath a personage etc., then his man must bee his minister and have 20 nobles a yeare and his master the whole profitt of the benefyce, is not this the miserable case of our byshoppes to maynteyne this cursed act, to make suche ministers for mens pleasures who seeke nothinge but ease and worldlye livynge, and regarde nothinge the curinge of the soules, whom they have charge. Those ministers and Bishops bee men pleasers, tyme servers, soule sellers, cursed are they that procured them and

ordeyned them, beynge no preachers, and cursed bee the byshops that maynteyne them, and woe is to the congregation that is lead by them, for where the blynde leadeth the blynde both shall fall into the ditch."

4. The calling of ministers is wrong also because it joins the gospel of Christ with the ceremonies of Antichrist. Then the Bishops say, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," giving that which they have not themselves.

"Our Byshops and cleargye persecute Chrystes true Churche and faythfull servaunts, who utterlye forsake all poperye and all sectes and schismes, errors and heresyes, and all papistrye; theese doo our byshops persecute, imprison, and impoverishe all they can, but this doth not the holye Spirite of God...."

5. The Bishops make ministers without a fixed congregation.

6. "When they doo make ministers etc., and give them a personage or vicarage, they thrust them in without consent of the congregation or parishioners, whether thei bee willynge or not willynge; nill thei or will thei, thei must receave him, bee hee good or badde, learned or unlearnede; this is an horrible error, for everye minister ought to have the consent and love of their congregation, and well knowene of them to bee a faythfull man, and a godlye, and suche a one as is meete, bothe in lyffe and doctrine, to take cure and charge of soules and to discharg his office before God and men and to feede the flocke."

The numbers cease here, and the "errors" become very miscellaneous. After mentioning the titles and vestments of the bishops, Nashe continues:

"The Bishops in maynteyninge idle prebends, non residenses, totquots, pluralityes, dispensations etc.; one man to have two benefytes or manye at once is as unlawfull as for one man to have two or manye wyves at once, this is both one before God, if it bee abhominable for one man to have manye wyves at once, so is it abhominable for one man to have manye spirituall livinges and benefices at once etc. It were more meete and convenient for everye congregation to have two ministers or more, and all learned preachers, and of an holye and godlye lyfe and of sound doctryne etc.

Reading service and tossinge of psalmes from syde to syde in the quyer, and turning their arses and backs to the people etc., where Chrystes ministers do all to edifye both in prayer and preachinge, and prophesying and ministring, and in Psalmes syngynge together with the whole church etc., and not service readynge, and psalmes in partes songe, nor pistlinge nor gospelinge after the

Popes fashion, which is a blynde order, and a waye to kepe the people still in ignorance, and by this your waye and order, the unlearned sorte...shall never come to see nor knowe the lighte of lyffe, but thorow blynde leaders and dombe dogges and unpreaching ministers, bee still blynde and so loose their salvation etc."

Ten "Errors in baptisme," on the usual Puritan lines are then given. Nos. 1 and 10 read:

1. "popishe priestes, dumbe dogges, and unpreaching ministers, suche to baptyse is a foule error; theese are Jeroboams priestes etc."

10. "To their common prayer at baptisme etc. cometh good and badde, drunkards and blasphemers, theeves and murtherers, sorcerers and witches, and mungerell Papists and protestantes, and such lyke unreformed persons, praye together without a seperation, a wonderfull disorder, and altogether contrarye to the holye worde of God...."

"Theese articles are all additions to Chrystes true religion and holye institutions, and therfore they are accursed (Rev. 22^{15-19}; Deut. $5^{32f.}$). Take heede therfore that yee doo as the Lorde your God commanded you, turne not asyde to the righte hande nor to the lefte, yee shall neither adde nor diminish."

There follows a list of seven "Errors in the Lordes Supper," and a second list of five "Errors in mariage." In the latter, objection is made to the marriage of children, and also to the "maryinge of Papists and Protestantes together." All marriages should be "in the Lorde."

Nashe ends by commending the clergy to God, that their hearts may be opened

"that thei maye for theese great infirmityes seeke a speedye remedye that those abuses maye bee cleane taken away, that God maye bee glorifyed, and his Churche edifyed and Gods wrath pacifyed, and in our hartes the true faythe established."

100. 1581. A Letter from William Drewett [Dreuit], dated Feb. 1580/1.

"Theese are to advertise you of a pore man William Drewett sent to prison, to Newgate the iij of this moneth of februarye from the convocation house by the Byshoppes and cleargye that then sate there, for not consentinge to the additions and filthye ceremonyes of Antichryste, and the Romish Remnantes which is that stingginge tayle of that moste cursed serpent which hath made all nations to drincke of the wyne of the cuppe of wrathe of her fornication.

That man of synne, the chylde of perdition, whom God wyll destroye with the breathe of his mouthe, therfore, from the

Byshoppe of Rome and all his detestable enormityes, good Lorde, deliver us, and all England, Lorde, for thy mercye, that this nation and others maye bee released of this Romishe bondag."

Many Scripture passages are then woven into a plea that all the remnants of Popery might be laid aside, and the true Word of God followed in purity. Then follows the confession[1]:

"Yet had I rather dye in the Lordes trueth for my salvation then to live in the world with dissimulation and bee confounded. I have joyned my self to the true dispersed churche of Chryste, wherin I have yeelded my self subject to the disciplyne of Gods worde as I promised in my baptisme, which if I should now agayne forsake and joyne myself agayne with you traditioners, I should then forsake the unyon wherin I am knitt to the bodye of Chryste, and joyne myselfe to the disciplyne of Antichryste, for in the Churche of the traditioners there is none other discipline then that which hath bin ordayned by the Antichristian Popes of Rome, wherby the true Churche of Chryst hath alwayes bin afflicted, and is to this daye, for which cause I leave it.

By mee William Dreuit.

Wishinge the whole cleargye to purge themselves of all idollatrye bothe of the fleshe and spirite, and I praye to God to make mee better able to endure the affliction of the bodye then the corruptions of the mynde."

101. [*c.* 1582.] "A Suplication for conference to bee permitted againe." [To some Privy Councillor from an unknown individual.]

The writer begins by pointing out that it is about five years since the Queen ordered the suppression of the

"assemblie of the ministers and people then used, commonlie tearmed by the name of prophesies or exercises, for that the same was not appointed nor warranted by her highnes nor her lawes; and also for that the poore vulgar people, whome it was fitter to have bene at their labours and occupations, leaving their ordinarie parishes, resorted thither from places farre distant, to heare matters and points of divinitie disputed and decided farre unfit for their capacitie, fearing leaste some Schisme growing hereby, thorough the diversitie of opinions should have a daungerous sequeale, to the disturbance of her Ma^ties^ most peaceable government."

Now, however, it is necessary that steps should be taken to further religion and learning, and especially to reform the ministry. It is extremely difficult to remove ministers already beneficed, and so the best thing is to teach them, and therefore

[1] See above, Nos. 32–3.

conference seems "to be a speciall remedie to redresse the fearfull sinne of the great ignorance of the ministerie of this age." Orders could be given for some of the learned ministers to be present at the conferences, to see that all things were done decently and in order, and there need be no "confluence of the vulgar and secular sort of people." Meetings could be held in each deanery, once a month or more frequently, and discussion should be on points of learning only. Thus

"the neglegent, Idle, ignorant sorts of ministers, whereof some be gamsters, hawkers, hunters, taverne haunters, worldlings, and unthrifts, whereof there be great swarmes in this Realme to great offence and hinderance of religion and vertue, maie by this meanes be the rather forced and drawne to applie their books and be enabled thereby the better in some tollerable measure to performe some parts of their calling by catechising and instructing her Ma^ties^ simple and ignorant people, which as yet both old and younge remaine in most places without all knowledge of the grounds and principles of Christian religion, so as through ignorance thei be readie to embrace superstition and Idolatrie upon the first offer thereof."

The Privy Council is therefore asked to sue to the Queen that conference might be permitted again.

102—7. 1582–3. "The copyes of certayne letters directed for the reliefe of the cytye of Geneva."

1. The Council to the Bishop of Lincoln. Jan. 29^th^, 1582/3. Signed by

"T. Bromley, Canc.	Willyam Burghley	Rob. Leycester
Edwa. Lyncoln	Amb. Warwick	James Croft
J. Hunsdon	Franc. Knollys	Walt. Mildmay."
Chr. Hatton	Franc. Walsingham	

Geneva has appealed to the Queen for help, being in sore need, and Her Majesty desires the Bishops to get contributions from the wealthier clergy. The city deserves help "by former curtesyes and favors shewed to sundrye hir ma^ties^ subjectes during the tyme of the late persecution in Q. Maryes tyme," and also because "in this latter age, that poore town hath served for a nurserye unto Gods church."

2. The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of Lincoln[1]. Jan. 30^th^, 1582/3.

[1] Printed in Strype's *Grindal*, 417, from the Bishop's *Register*.

Grindal calls Geneva "that poore towne that hath bin many yeres a safe refuge and haven for such as have bene constreyned for professyon of the truthe to flye from all places of the world."

3. "The Bishop of Lincoln to M^r^ D. Smith, D. Sparke, D. Garbrand, M^r^ Harris, and M^r^ Chaloner. Feb. 5^th^, 1582/3."

Suggesting the method of the collection. Parsons and vicars who are able to contribute are to be called together, the object of the gathering being concealed from them "untill they come." Curates and poorer vicars are not to be troubled. A voluntary contribution would be unsatisfactory, and an assessment of sixpence in the pound is recommended, those refusing to pay to be reported at once. The collection should be made speedily and without slackness.

"Sure I am that when this matter was in consultation at the Councell table, yf some thinges had not bin, which I of late had done and written, order had bin taken, and for the tyme was taken, that this contributyon should have bene required of the Clergie, and rated, not by my L. of Caunterburye and the ordinaryes, but by certaine noblemen and gentlemen in eche countreye by authoritye of the Councell. Into which bondage, yf we shall once fall by our slacknes, we shall never rydd ourselves out of it, but in such cases for vj^d^ shall paye xx^tie^ tymes sixpence. What affection they beare towards the mynisterye in eche counterye, I knowe by to[o] good experience. Upon this occasion some of the Councell have sent me worde that all the Clergie of Englande are beholding to me. This daunger I praye you imparte to the mynisters when they appeare before you."

4. Theodore Beza to Francis, Earl of Bedford. Oct. 10^th^, 1582.

The letter is given both in Latin and English. Sets forth the sad state of Geneva and asks for help.

5. "From Geneva to the Londoners." Oct. 7^th^, 1582. Asks for help.

6. The Council to the Lord Mayor of London. Jan. 20^th^, 1582/3.

Signed by

"Willm. Burghley	Fr. Walsingham	Christopher Hatton
Robert Leycester	Ambro. Warwick	
Fr. Knollys	Henry Hunsdon."	

Suggests a collection from the citizens, to be made

"in secrete manner, and as nere as can be, of the wealthier sorte, that therof ther maye growe neither common speache, nor greife to the poorer."

108. [.] A Letter (Lat.) from the French Church in London, endorsed, "To our lovinge brethren M^r^ Pigge, M^r^ Dyke, and the rest of our brethern of Buckinghshier and Bedfordshier etc."

Headed "Londino Gallicae ecclesia Pastores, Seniores, et Diaconi, gratiam et pacem a deo per Jesum Christum," and subscribed, "Londini R. Massonius Fontanus [ ][1]
J. Castollus, verbi minister."

Thanks God for the harbour storm-tossed foreigners had found in England in time of persecution. Specially mentions the massacre of St Bartholomew's Day 1572. Summarises the history of the French Church in London, and details its present condition, asking for financial aid.

109. [.] "A brieff note of the necessitie of preaching."

He that denies such necessity may be counted a monster.

"That it is moste necessarie for the welfare of the soule, the everlasting truth of God beareth witnesse by telling us that: We perish where it faileth (Prov. 29^{18}). It turneth our soules to God (Ps. 19^{7}). It turneth and reconcileth God unto us (1 Cor. —)[2]. It giveth us faith (Rom. 10^{17}). Faith hath the end of it, eternall life (1 Pet. 1^{9}). And this above all things a Christian ought to looke unto (Mt. 16^{26}). If this be true, what case are they in that have wanted this meane 40 yeares together, I meane a watchman to warne them of the coming of enemie, and a shepheard to drive them out and bring them home."

Six "objections" are then stated and answered. The first says that reading of the Word is sufficient, the second that there is already "great store of preaching," while the remaining four deal with ways and means.

110. [.] "London. Middlesex."

Subscribed "by me, Joan[3] Elyot."

"A note of M^r^ Johnsons words to J. Elyot."

He does not go to his parish church because "John Johnson,

[1] At the end of the signature are some unreadable flourishes. Robert Le Maçon (dit "de la Fontaine") became minister in London in 1574, Jean Castel in 1582. [See J. S. Burn, *History of French, Dutch, and other Foreign Protestant Refugees...*, 34 (1846).] A Contents List has: "M^r^ Fountaines letter for releife of the church."

[2] Reference missing.

[3] Probably "John."

parson of St. Andrewes" said in church that to communicate with those who wore "popish rags" was to be no better than a sow wallowing in the mire, a pig turning to his vomit, or Lot's wife looking back to Sodom. He also said:

"Naye, I will come nerer you, if you do communicate with any such, you are no better then he that dipped his hand in the dish with Christ and afterward betrayed him."

111. 1583. The Complaint of John Hill, late Minister of Bury St Edmunds, 26 Sept. 1583.

Subscribed "By me, John Hill."

"About two yeres ago, John Hill, late mynister of Bury St. Edmunds in the countye of Suffolk was indited for omitting the crosse in baptisme, and alteringe the vowes, unto the which inditement the said John Hill awnswered Guilty."

Asked by the Judges why he should not be committed to prison for a year, Hill protested that he had already been dealt with by the Commissary, and on producing evidence of this, he was discharged. Soon afterwards, however, the Judges summoned him before them again, saying he had openly complained of their hard treatment of him, Judge Anderson producing a "supplication" signed by him.

"So they committed the said John Hill to prison, having no other matter to send him to prison for, but that whereof he was discharged before by the said Judges, and there he hathe contynued a prisonner since the last Assize in Lent untill this presend daye, being the 26 of September 1583."

"Postscript. Moreover, the said John Hill was committed to prison by the foresaid Judges, notwithstandinge he had left his mynisterye in Burie aforesaid halfe a yere before the last Assizes in Lent."

112. 1583. "The Supplication of Norwich men to the Queenes Ma^{tie}."

As every kingdom is but tottering, and the people most miserable where Christ does not reign, so kings and people are happy and flourishing where He is honoured.

"Therfore we, a great number of your ma^{ties} loving and most true harted subjects, after supplication in time past made to your majestie, do now most bitterlie crie and complaine, and, humbling ourselves at the feete of your ma^{tie}, crave that, as your highnes by the favor of God, have bene the author of removing the doctrine of

Antichrist, and planting the doctrine of Christ, the one part of the gospell: So it might seeme good to your highnes to fullfill up your happie work, by removing the government of Antichrist allso, with all his archprelates, and all his Court keepers, which keepe not the lordes Courtes, by planting that holie Eldership, the verie senew of Christs Church, which is so plainlie described and so waightilie authorised in Gods word, that it will not faile, but cite all the refusers therof, guiltie before Gods Judgment seat in the last daie: and by removing the dumbe ministrie, that horrible evill, which filleth hell paunch with the soules of the people, and by placing those ministers which have wherwith to feede Christs flocke, such as the word of the Lord shapeth out, which maie not be chosen by corrupt patrones which have nothing to doe therwith, but by the flock whose soules pertaine to the ministers charge, so that the judgement of the saide flocke in their choise be examined by a synode of lawfull ministers."

The suppliants beseech the Queen to establish these and all other things "perteining to the holie discipline of our Lord," and so to cast down the groves as well as burn the idols, to adorn and beautify God's house, as well as build it. So shall she "flourish as a greene bay tree," and her kingdom be established on the hill of Zion. If not,

"we can not see how the Lord should long holde his revenging hand from punishing this slackenes in the rulers and most horrible and grievous sinne in the subjects, which aboundeth infinite waies more then it should doe, if we had this discipline. And we...wysh that it might seeme good to your Ma^tie^ rather to take awaie our lives rather then to leave us destitute of this benefite, that we, as we be members of Christes Church, should not be rightlie subject unto our heavenlie king. Which earnest and humble sute of ours, or rather Christ his owne cause, although your ma^tie^ hath bene made privie to it long since by the learned Cleargie of this land, which have in more full measure opened this matter then either we could, either it was our purpose at this time to doe, yet we beseech your Ma^tie^ to consider that now the poore lay people, being vexed with the want of the word preched, and persecuted by Antichrist his Courts, when thei, with hunger and thirst seeke where thei maie heare it, yelde their humble praiers to Gods Ma^tie^ and entire requests to your Grace for reformation. Which people call God to record to their soules that thei above all things wish and praie that God may be glorified and the Scepter of your Highnes kingedome maie long flourish, in renowned and most happie estate.

Which your Graces loving subjects be these[1], with infinite more in this shire of Norfolk:

[1] The number of names is 175.

Richard Baxter
Thomas Carter
John Russell
Robert Feake
John Weld Sen^{r}
John Weld Jun^{r}
Robert Johnson
Edmund Skinner
John Knight Sen^{r}
John Miller
Robert Fulcher
John Blocke
Leonard Morley
John Knight Jun^{r}
Thomas Rochester
Anthony Snow
Hugh Brewer
Robart Hall
John Cordy
John Coulman
Thomas Newton
David Liles
John Middleton
Robart Church
Titus Norris
Randolph Smith
John Clarke
Lawrence Lamme
Henry Felbrigg
Thomas Skelton
Thomas Brett
John Frick
Richard Smith
Walter Sharp
Robert Cocket
John Murrell
Thomas Coppen
William Read
W^{m} Remington
John Browne
Barnaby Downing
Roger Welde
John Allens
John Reinold
John Lawes
William Coulman
Henry Coulman
Robert Coulman
William Dymes

Robert Knight
Richard Moore
William Knight
Nicholas Sayer
John Poole
John Lincon
Robert Butler
Nicholas Woodhouse
Robart Barker
Henry Barker
Gregory Houlton
Robart Elwin
James Wilson
Richard Letwin
John Franey
Thomas Parker
Gregory Glouer
Leonard Fasset
Thomas Cullier
William Roper
John Couper
Thomas Fulser
John Daines
Henry Erle
Walter Assey
Thomas Dove
Thomas Bird
Adam Crosman
Robart Eldred
Thomas Seman
George Paine
Thomas Buxton
Edmund Thurston
Anthony Blomefield
John Chambers
William Badson
John Miles Sen^{r}
John Miles Jun^{r}
John Cotterell
William Fenne
William Seman
William Purdy
John Deacon
Peter Cullier
John Wix
John Baxter
William Edwards
Thomas Lincon
George Water

Robert Browne
Stephen Wix
Thomas Pett
Robert Pett
Robert Wardin
W^{m} Sharwin
W^{m} Gould
Robt. Harison
Anthony Ayleston
John Vase
Matthew Herman
William Woodes
John Flower
John Skipp
Nicholas Reding
John Miles
John Raye
John Sharp
John Nolles
(or Nobbes)
William Atkinson
George Shorten
Robert Miles
John Harne
Michael Brooke
Robert Davy
Richard Cooke
Thomas Dix
W^{m} Roo
John Ling
Barthol. Beanes
Robert Goulding Sen^{r}
Robert Goulding Jun^{r}
Thomas Cantrell
Oliver Ensworth
Richard Key
Christopher Hudson
David Bulmer
Henry Gostling
Paul Gisburgh
Gregory Pollard
W^{m} Boult
Nic. Thriscrosse
William King
George Bets
Henry Maynor
William Parston
James Cordy
Edward Couper

Henry Laughter	Stephen Coole	George Rainold
Thomas Gould	John Howling	Thomas Yowle
W^m^ Lambert	Richard Hunter	Edmund Drake
Thom Rotkin	George Wix	Miles Williams
Robert Greene	W^m^ Downing	Stephen Webbe
John Walters	John Renold	Nicholas Spone
(or Watters)	Edmund Maye	William Tuttell
Nich. Wittam	Edmund Sturges	Robert Nesten
Thomas Downes	Adam Stacy	John Godfrey
John Howlet	Ely Stanford	Richard Whitefoot."

113. 1583. "A true note of the troubles of me, John Knight; mynister, A.D. 1583."

On the 26th Dec. last, having a long standing engagement to preach at Palgrave in Suffolk, "I, John Knight of Roydon in... Norfolk" went there with the consent of the minister. The people, having been assembled by the ringing of a bell, were about to sing a psalm, when in came one Sir Stevens, parson of a parish in Norfolk seven miles away. Hurrying into the church without cloak or gown, "with a long dagger at his backe and bootes on his leggs," he walked into the pulpit, and, standing there like a madman, with no book, but only his hat in his hand, he asked the amazed people why they were met together. On learning they had come to hear the Word of God, he asked who was to preach, and "then, looking about, he espied John Knight, mynister, sitting in the Chauncell," and said, "Thou impudent boye, thou shalt not come here. Shewe me thy licence."

Knight said, "I have licence suffycyent for that which I purpose to doe....You knowe...I am a mynister," to which Stevens answered, "Thou hast an impudent face...and I have britcht twentye boyes arses better then thou. Shewe me thy licence and thou shalt come."

He repeatedly asked for the licence, "six or seven times going up into the pulpitt and down againe and up againe as a mad or drunken man," and said he would not leave the pulpit till he was satisfied. Uproar resulted, the people asking to see *Stevens's* licence, and "John Goselinge, a franticke man and an enemye unto preachers" claiming that he knew Knight was not a minister. To calm the disorder Knight shewed his letters of orders to the churchwardens, but Stevens refused to

leave the pulpit till he had seen the document for himself. Knight therefore left the church, while Stevens called for a surplice. He put this on, and then called for the Queen's Book and the Queen's Injunctions. All the people thought that he was drunk, especially when, standing with the Bible and service book in one hand and his hat in the other, he said that he could not turn the leaves, and did not know what to read.

"So he lett fall his hatt amonge the people. The[n] he pulled out of his hoose a night capp, and put it on his head, with the eare upon his forehead, and used such gestures as greeved the godlie, but other some laught."

He began to read evening prayer, but seeing Knight re-enter the church stopped to ask once more for the licence. The people were now "out of order," and so Stevens asked Knight to preach. Though unwilling, the minister was persuaded by the people, and he preached three quarters of an hour, sermon and prayer being interspersed by remarks from Stevens, such as:

"You stand prating there, and I have loste my hatt. I praye you aske for it."

After the sermon, Knight asked Stevens if the doctrine was sound, and received the reply:

"Yes, I can finde no faulte with it, but I have loste my hatt, and that is more than I have gained by your preachinge."

Knight then invited Stevens to accompany him to the Bishop to explain the disturbance, but the latter refused, and, fearing the people's complaints, hastily drew up articles against Knight and against "John Birde, Thomas Prentis, and Richard Ducke...knowen...to be honest, godlie, and faithfull men." As witnesses to these articles, he had:

1. His brother, "an unpreachinge mynister like unto him selfe," who set his hand to things he never heard or saw.

2. The John Goselinge before mentioned,

"a common blasphemer of the word of God, a common plaier at tables and cardes, a common brawler with his neighbours, and is manye tymes out of his witts, and often times he hath offred to hange him self, and had hanged him self yf he had not bin prevented, for the rope was about his necke, and suche a one as the

Bushopp of Norwich did refuse to be sworne in the purgation of one that was accused of adulterye."

3. "One Smithe, which hath bene an adulterer of old, and is thought still to contynue in the synne[1]."

Such were the witnesses who appeared against Knight before the Bishop and the Judges of Assize, while the minister and his friends had to find sureties of £40 each to appear before the Commission[2]. This they did and offered to submit to punishment if their accusers could swear to the truth of the charges. Stevens, after being rebuked by the Bishop, said he himself could not so swear, but there were witnesses who would. Knight objected to two of these on the ground of character, but Stevens sent for seventeen others, the accused meanwhile being examined privately and separately by "the Bishops man." When they came before the Bishop, Stevens prompted the witnesses in their evidence on the article—

"that the said Knight should saie that he would not joine in praier with a dumbe dogg or idoll shepheard, with such like and so disturbed him in his readinge."

Knight objected to the prompting, but the only witnesses who gave incriminating evidence were the two who had been challenged. Prentis and Duck were therefore discharged on payment of many fees, Knight being remanded for three or four days, and the two witnesses—who had refused to swear to the truth of their depositions—being imprisoned also. Eventually Knight was discharged on payment of 45*s.* 4*d.* fees. The Bishop's officers asked him for a further 6*s.* for a copy of the articles against him, but the Bishop refused to let him have this copy, or even a "written discharge according to lawe." On protesting that it was hard to be imprisoned without knowing the cause, Knight was told that witnesses had proved that he was a "disturber." He said the witnesses were of bad character, and he could bring fifty on his behalf, but the Bishop responded:

"That will not serve, for two with the Queene are better than one hundred against the Queene."

[1] Proof of this is given.

[2] Consisting of the Bishop, D^r^ Gardiner, D^r^ Master, D^r^ Brisley, and M^r^ Castleton.

Stevens, not satisfied, now "sought means how to drive the said Knight out of the countrey," securing the help of

"his brother mynister of Framson in Suffolk, with one John Dawlton, a verye drunken mynister, and one John Elke, a very adulterous mynister (evidentlye proved before the Bishop...), and one John Cullmer, another drunken mynister knowen to the countrye, with one Robert Okes and Thomas Marchant, with divers others."

On Lady-day 1583, Elke and Okes came to the parish church as Knight was ready for morning prayer, Elke stating he had the Bishop's authority to preach. Knight, knowing that he had just been punished for adultery, refused to let him preach, being supported in this attitude by the people.

On Easter day, Elke came again, saying he had further authority from the Chancellor, showing to two parishioners a document suspending Knight and giving the cure to himself. Knight refused to obey, and on enquiry from the Bishop, found that the document was forged. The Bishop "refused to meddle with the matter against those drunken ministers," and Knight complained to Sir Nicholas Bacon, who commanded Okes and Marchant to appear at the next assizes for forgery. Hereupon Knight was threatened that if he proceeded on the forgery charge, many men were ready to swear that they had heard him pray that

"God would turne hir Ma^{ts} harte to reforme those thinges that are amisse in the Churche: or els that God would shorten hir dayes."

He informed Bacon of these threats, and on examination it was found that John Dawlton had attempted to bribe one of Knight's parishioners in an alehouse, promising him 20*s.* if he would swear that his minister had said these words. All these things were reported to the Bishop, but he refused to take any action against the culprits. Meanwhile Stevens had procured the arrest of Bird and Prentis, and they were bound over to appear at the assizes at Bury on the charge already tried before the Bishop. Knight promised to appear to certify that they had already been acquitted, but he himself was indicted on an old charge, viz. his words concerning "dumb dogges."

Asked if he had a benefice, Knight replied in the negative, and pointed out that his Ordinary had already punished him

for the charge. He had no written evidence of this, however, and so was committed to prison. He asked for bail that he might give evidence "in the behalfe of the Prince in a matter of forgerye," but Judge Anderson said it was but "a three half pennye matter," and sentenced him to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 100 marks, to be paid within six weeks.

From prison Knight wrote to the Bishop asking for his discharge, but

"then said the bushopp, since my Lord Judges have laied him in prison, there he is like to lie still."

114. 1582–4. "Ezechias Morlye[1]."

1. The account of Morley's troubles in 1582. This is given almost in full and fairly accurately in Brook (II. 174–6), though the part of the story where Morley tells of being "thrust out of my place in spite of the patrone[2]" is omitted, and the document's "Denstone" becomes "Denton."

2. Brook gives Morley's statement and the articles exhibited to the Commissioners in 1584 almost verbatim. The warrant charging Morley and his friends to appear is issued in the names of "Jo. Canterb., Joh. London, Paten. Rale, Gabr. Goodman," dated May 16th, 1584, and directed to "Isaac Morlye, Parmenter of the parish of Belcham St Paule, Rob. Pomnent, and William Bigg of Ridgwell in the countie of Essex." It is printed in Neal, I. 335 n.

115. [.] "Articles of the Discipline of the Church[3]."

Heb. 3
1 Tim. 3
1 Cor. 1
Heb. 5[4]
Rom. 12[3]
1 Tim. 3

1. In everye Churche there ought to be an order for the godlye guydinge of it, which is to bee taken out of the Worde. It is this in effect:

2. None maye deale in that which belongeth to eny speciall charge of the Churche, except hee bee lawfullye called to deale therin.

3. Those onlye ought to bee called which have sufficient giftes answerable to the charge wherunto they are called, for which thing there ought to bee a due examination wherby

[1] The account n II. 91 r., which is probably the original, begins: "If yt will then any thinge helpe the common cause, I pray you then use your discretion."

[2] Sir John Higham.

[3] There are two drafts of this item, with many minor discrepancies.

this sufficiencye maye bee judged of, which standeth in soundnes of religion, and in blameles lyfe, and in proper giftes fit for his callinge.

4. Those that be called must bee called for some certayne Church where to exercise theyre calling. Rom. 13[6] Acts 14[23] Tit. 1[5]

5. In everye lawfull calling there must bee both an election and choyse, and also an ordeyninge or investinge to the place wherunto a man is chosen. Rom. 12[6,7] Col. 4

6. Everye one is to discharge the duetye wherunto hee is called.

7. Sufficiencye of the minister is this, aptnes to teache sounde doctrine, and therfore both to bee learned in the holye scriptures and to be able truelye and soundlye to expounde them, to the confirmation of the trueth and conviction of errors, and also aptnes to deliver it so to the Church as they maye receave profit therbye. Acts 14[23 f.] Tit. 1 2 Tim. 3

8. Therfore their examination ought to bee such as maye bee sufficient to knowe whether they have suche giftes or not.

9. They muste bee evidentlye knowne of good tyme for to have bin professors of the trueth. 1 Tim. 3[6]

10. Their choyse must bee with solemne prayer of suche as chuse, their ordeyning or investing by lyke prayer, after imposition of handes by some sufficient neighbour Minister, with preachinge to laye out the duetyes both of the Minister and Congregation, and this in the presence of the congregation to which hee is appoynted and some of the Ministers next adjoyninge. Acts 15 1 Cor. 9[8, 9, 14]

11. There ought to bee a competent living for them. 1 Tim. 5[18]

12. Two sortes of teachers ought to be in everye Churche (1) Teachers or Readers, (2) Preachers or Pastors. Rom. 12[7 f.] Eph. 4[11]

13. Teachers office is to deale onlye in the simple doctrine by givinge of the right sense of the texts of the Scriptures and delivering cheife poyntes of Religion out of the same, as maye be fittest for the capacitye of the simple. Rom. 12[7]

14. Pastors office is to applye them selves more particularlye to the use of the Church, both in the doctrines, in comfortinge, threatninge, exhortinge, reprovinge, etc., and in the ministerye of Sacraments, for which ministerye the liturgie used by our country men persecuted in Queen Maries tyme, and now used in Fraunce, Scotland, Flanders, and others for the profession of the gospell within this Citye and by other abroade at Geneva and els where, maye well serve, as allso for the blessing of maryage and other prayers of the Churche. His speciall gifts to bee regarded, besides the former abilitye of the Teacher, is the gifte of exhortation. Rom. 12[8] 2 Tim. 4[2]

15. There ought to be besyde in everye Churche, Deacons and Elders. Acts 6

16. Deacons are for the almesse given to the poore,

whose speciall fitnes is in a mercifull compassion of those in necessitye and an upright and just conscience in his dealinge.

1 Tim. 5[17] 1 Thess. 5[12] 17. The Elders office is to watch over the lyfe of the congregation, to visit the sicke, to admonishe privatelye such as offend, and to present publike offenders to whom it appertayneth, and therfore their fitnes is a speciall watchfulnes to learne and understand of missedoers and diligence in the affayrs of the Churche.

Mt. 18[17] 1 Tim. 5[20] 18. The affayrs of the Church concerne eyther the comelye direction of the whole congregation at the tyme of their solemne and holye assemblye, or some particulers of the bodye, and that first general of anye, in regarde of synne and offence, to correct everye publike offence accordinge to the nature of it, which is in the repentant, more private admonition and humblinge of him selfe, which is in smaler offences: or of publike admonition and humiliation, which is in greater offences: greater are those which are punishable by the Magistrates by imprysonment or more greevouslye.

1 Cor. 11[28f.] Mt. 5 19. In the repentant for lesse offences, of more private admonition and rebuke onlye, or also of further correction by seperating for some determinate tyme from the lordes supper, commonlye called suspension.

Mt. 18[15, 17] 1 Cor. 5[7, 8, 11] 20. For greater offences seperatinge from the congregation—this is only for grievous offences, and those joyned with unrepentance.

Acts 14[23] 21. Further also, the dealing with suche as beare anye Charg of the Congregation belongeth unto the Church, and that in receavinge tryall and nominations or full choyce of acceptinge, and in removinge, eyther for lesse offences for a tyme, commonlye also called suspension, as for greater for ever, called deprivation.

Acts 15[6] etc. 22. The Assemblyes are of two sortes, the one of the Ministerye and Elders which is for all the ordinarye matters of the comelye direction of the churche, and in respecte of offences to deale with the unrepentant, for the lesser and for the greater also in those that repente; in respecte of the officers, for receavinge to trye and nominate, for removinge to heare and examine the cause and to suspend.

1 Cor. 5[5] Acts 14 23. The second—of the whole Church, that is, of great offences to excommunicate; for officers, to make the full choise by signifying their consent, either by silence or some other convenient way. Before this election there ought to be made solemne praier for their direction—and thei have like power to depose.

24. Particular Churches ought to have common meetinges and assemblyes of men chosen out of the Ministerye and Elders of everye of them.

Acts 15[22] 25. They ought to advyse by the worde of that which concerneth them in common, or anye one of them in particular,

eyther for counsel or ending of controversye, wherin the lesse is alwaye to give place to the greater and all to the greatest, and therfore appeale in controversye to lye lawfullye till it be determined by the greatest assemblyes accordinge to the worde. These Assemblyes maye bee fitlye of everye deanrye often, or of everye dioces[1], which might be twyce in the yeare, or of the whole nation, which might bee once in the yeare, or if seldomer, yet at the least at some convenient tymes as occasion might serve.

An exposition of the Scripture references follows, with the title:

"A particuler applyinge of the places, playnlye settinge down a proofe out of the worde concerninge those thinges which wee desyre."

116. [.] "The lawfull and ordinarye governement of the Church by the Worde of God is this, so farre as wee have learned in the Scriptures."

That there bee in everye Church severall officers for severall purposes, and an assemblye having joynt and common authoritye together. Eph. 4 Rom. 12

The severall officers are thees, Pastor, Doctor, Elder, Deacon, which offices or any part of them it is not lawfull for anye to execute without lawfull callinge and vocation thereunto. Heb. 5^4

In which vocation these two thinges are requyred, to bee called to a certayne place, and to discharge fullye the office wherunto hee is appoynted. Acts 14^{23} Acts 6 Rom. 12^{6-8} Tit. 1^5

This callinge or vocation hath 2 partes, choosinge and ordeyninge. Acts 20^{28} 1 Cor. $9^{16, 17}$

Choosinge requyreth examination and tryall to goe before of their fitnes, the want wherof is just cause of refusall or deposition. Col. 4^{17}

Which fitnes generally consisteth in 2 pointes, soundnes of religion and honestye of lyfe. 1 Tim. 3

The speciall fitnes of the Minister is abilitye of knowledge in the worde of God, and of utterance of the same. 1 Tim. 3^1

The speciall fitnes of the Pastor is the gifte of exhortation; of the Doctor, of expoundinge the Scriptures; of the Elder, care and diligence in government; of the Deacon, simplicitye in distributinge. Rom. 12

The ordeyninge of all officers reqyreth two thinges, (1) Prayer; (2) laying on of handes. Acts $6^6, 13^3$ 1 Tim. 4^{14}, 5^{22}

[1] The manuscripts are divided between "dioces" and "divicion."

1 Cor. 9
1Tim.5[17,18]

The speciall ordeyning of the Ministers giveth to them right to bee maynteyned with a sufficient livinge of the churche to which they are appoynted.

These are the thinges which are to be regarded in the severall offices.

Mt. 18[17 f.]
Ex. 12[48,49]
Num. 8[5]
Mt. 5
1 Cor. 5, 6

The assemblye consisteth of Ministers and Elders, and hath the chief authoritye in the Churche. But their authoritye is onely spirituall and respecteth all the Churche, and so for the diversitye of faultes is of three sortes. To admonish, To forbydde the use of the Sacraments, and To excommunicate: or the officers onlye and consisteth in elections and depositions[1].

Acts 13
1 Cor. 5
1 Tim.
4[14], 5[22]

But for diverse Causes as of amending disorders which maye arise in the assemblyes of some particuler Churche or Churches, of hearinge appeales, of decydinge of controversyes in doctrine, of appoyntinge uniformitye in the Churches and such lyke, it is needfull that at certeyn appoynted tymes and places meetest, there bee synodes of chosen men sent from Assemblies in shyres and provinces, and when neede requyreth, of the whole nation, of which sorte of Synods for some of these causes wee read Acts 15.

Acts 6
1 Cor. 14

The exercyses of the Churche are preachinge and prophesyinge, prayer and administration of Sacraments.

117. [.] "Of Discipline." M[r] T.

The lawful discipline of the Church is appointed in God's Word, and such discipline should be established and all abuses removed. Christian magistrates, therefore, should require the ministers to declare

(1) what the teaching of God's Word is,

(2) what are the abuses that should be removed.

The Scriptures are the only rule for the Church, and all laws contrary to them—in Common Law, Injunctions, or customs—ought to be abrogated.

Seeing that many abuses "rise of the unequall distribution of parishes and churches," a general rule should be established that "everie particular Congregation should be of a competent number to heare the voice of one man speaking." To this end noblemen should join with the nearest congregation, their houses

"being commonly not convenient...to have such Officers as ought to be in everie Church, and the want of mynisters yet being so great."

[1] As MS.

The "uniting of sundrie litle parishes together" would help to remove many abuses; it would produce fit men for church offices and give a competent living to ministers.

God's Word is plain that the magistrate should constrain all men to attend the congregation nearest them, and that the Sacraments should be administered to known professors of the truth only. Those who, having listened to preaching for a reasonable time, do not desire to be admitted to the Lord's Supper, are to be dealt with by the church as in excommunication, and by the magistrate according to the Act De Excommunicato Capiendo.

If the order following be adopted, and only able men are admitted to the ministry, it will not be necessary for men to leave their charges to study at the Universities.

The difficulty regarding ministers in noblemen's houses disappears if the recommendation already given is followed; if not, noblemen should provide a sufficient living for their ministers, and not take men from their congregations. A number of ministers should be appointed for the Queen's house as for a congregation.

"Touching the Ministers that none ought to be suffered or admitted in that calling but such as have sufficient knowledge to qualifie them for that charge, it is thought a matter impossible and of so great inconveniency that most of the Churches in England should be left unfurnished of ministers."

Nevertheless "*presentlie* it is impossible to have so manie ministers as may suffice all the land," and so the right policy is "to enter a course wherby *in time* the whole land might be furnished." To this end the Universities should be reformed, and wholly (or at least the chief colleges) given over to training able pastors, the students being prevented from spending "so much time in other vaine and unprofitable studies, as commonlie thei do."

Further, seeing that many refuse to study for the Church owing to "the dishonour and beggery of it," superstitious ceremonies should be removed and a sufficient maintenance provided, in order to attract able students. Meanwhile, if small parishes were united, as suggested, "a good part of the

church would be furnished," especially if all abuses were removed, and trained, able, and godly ministers were not prevented from exercising their functions. As for the other churches, while it is "not lawfull to make any mynisters to mynister the worde and sacraments but such as are able to teach the worde soundlie," yet on holy days gatherings could be held "in nature of private meetings," where grave men could read the Scriptures and prayers, and on Sundays the people could attend "the next reformed Congregation" until such time as they should have a "sufficient minister." This may mean hardship to some who will have to walk a long distance, but it is worth while to hear the preaching of the Word, and already many have to travel equally long distances according to law, simply to hear the prayers read. The objection that there is not sufficient maintenance for a minister in every congregation is not valid, for if patrons refrained from plundering the parishes, a pastor and a doctor could be kept in every church.

Stringent laws against "simonicall bargaines" between patrons and unfit men should be passed and executed, though they will scarcely be necessary if only fit men are admitted to the ministry. Other safeguards could be obtained by insisting that the patron presented his nominee to the church for approval, and not to the bishop, and by making the income of ministers like the gathering of manna—whether a man gathered much or little, the amounts were all equal! If impropriations were restored to the Church, however, there would be no want, but great plenty; if the Queen would set the example in this respect, the nobles would speedily follow, and so a sufficient provision would be obtained and the souls of many of God's people would be saved. Parliament might grant a subsidy for the recovering of temporalities, or individual parishes might obtain the impropriation, and give the profit to the minister.

Seeing there is much offence at some ceremonies in the book, these are to be left indifferent. Little change is needed to turn collectors, churchwardens, and sidesmen into deacons and elders, for the deacon's office is but to distribute the church's alms, and the elder's "to present the publique affairs of the Congregation."

No minister should be removed unless blamable in doctrine or life.

Assemblies of ministers and elders should be held regularly; these cannot be offensive, for the people are familiar with Convocations, meetings of churchwardens, etc.

At present matters of censure, suspension, excommunication, etc., are committed to the bishop "as to[o] weightie for the people."

"But if one man and his officers maie be sufficient to do all these in a whole Diocese, why should there not be fit men in a whole congregation to cary these things with a godly discretion among themselves, especiallie if the congregation be such as hath bene set downe, that is, lovers and professors of the truth."

This would be according to God's Word, and then men would not be excommunicated for money matters, or incapable ministers chosen. At present the calling of a minister is held in contempt, and so it will continue to be if—because of a surplice or the sign of the cross—bishops load worthy men with indignities and treat them as felons. The fault is that they have too much power; it is altogether against God's Word that they should excommunicate men or remove ministers at their pleasure. God's ordinance is that the people should have this power; they already have power in judging civil and criminal causes; in many places they choose their officers; and it is God's will that they should rule in the Church. Excommunication should therefore be in the hands of the congregation, and they should only proceed to it for very serious offences. Likewise the congregation should choose the minister, and after due examination and making a confession of faith, he should be ordained.

Thus the Church will prosper, being governed by God's Word. No one will be able to complain that the state is injured "by not admitting the Bp. to continue in their places," for if the Queen still desires to employ them in her business, she may retain them in their dignities.

118. 1584. "A Copie of the High Comission."

This copy of the Commission of December 1583, is dated Jan. 7th, 1583/4, and certified as correct by Abraham Hartwell, public notary.

Noticing in the Introduction to Dr G. W. Prothero's *Statutes and Constitutional Documents* that no copies of this commission were known, the present writer brought this to the author's notice, considering that the best place in which it could appear was his volume. It is printed in full in the fourth edition (1913) of the *Statutes* (pp. 472*a*–472*k*. See also Dr Prothero's Preface to that edition for the relation of the commission to its predecessors).

119. 1583. Articles offered to the Queen by Archbishop Whitgift.

[There are several forms of these articles extant. They are given from the Archbishop's Register in Strype, *Whitgift*, I. 229–32, but in this case there are only *twelve* articles. The *sixteen* of the manuscript are summarised here for the sake of convenience in reading the replies which follow.]

1. That strict order be given for the execution of the Statutes against recusants.

2. That no book be printed unless allowed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London; that no printer issue translations, editions, or annotations of the Scriptures other than those approved by the Bishops.

3. That reading, preaching, and catechising in private places and houses, where others than members of a family resort, be forbidden.

4. That none preach or catechise in church or elsewhere, unless he be in orders and say service and administer the Sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer at least four times a year.

5. That dispensations for non-residents to derive great benefit through cathedral churches be not granted, for this is "the only or principall" cause why churches are not furnished.

6. That only one translation of the Bible—that approved by the Bishops—be allowed in public worship.

7. That there be no commutation of penance, except in very rare cases, and on consideration of the Bishop himself. Repentance should be public, the amount of the penance

should be announced, and the money employed for the relief of the poor or other godly uses.

8. That writs "De Excom. Cap." go from the Ordinary without any charge upon him[1].

9. That Sheriffs be urged to take strict proceedings in execution of such writs.

10. That preachers and those in ecclesiastical office wear at all times the apparel ordered in the *Advertisements*, i.e. "cloake with sleeves, the square cappe, gowne and tippett etc."

11. That none be permitted to preach or interpret the Scriptures, except lawfully admitted priests or deacons.

12. That none be admitted to Orders unless he can show the Bishop the presentation of himself to a benefice.

13. That no Bishop admit any to Orders except he be of his own diocese, the Universities, or certified by another Bishop. He must be 24 years of age, a graduate (or at least an able Latinist), able to give an account of his faith, and bearing testimonials to his character. Any Bishop admitting contrary to this rule is to lose his power of admitting for two years.

14. That Bishops admit only men of ability, and that the Archbishop have power to support them in refusing unqualified men.

15. That no dispensation for marriage without banns be granted, except in special circumstances.

16. That none be permitted to preach, read, or catechise, to minister the Sacraments, or exercise any ecclesiastical function, unless he first subscribe to the following articles—in the meantime all licenses to preach being suspended:

(1) That the Queen has supreme authority—ecclesiastical as temporal. (2) That the Book of Common Prayer and of Ordering contains nothing contrary to the Word of God; that it may be lawfully used; and that he will use it in public

[1] The charge is to be met from fines due to the Queen. Nevertheless, she will not suffer in the end, for the freedom from charge will encourage the Ordinaries to proceed against obstinate persons.

prayer, and none other. (3) That he allows the Articles agreed on in the Convocation of 1562, and believes them to be agreeable to the Word of God.

120—2. THREE ANSWERS TO THE ARCHBISHOP'S ARTICLES[1].

1. [1584.] "Certaine points to be considered of touching the petition made to her Ma^tie^ by the reverend father in God, J., the Archb. of Cant. his grace, in the name of other reverend fathers the BB. his brethren, for the better ordering and direction of Ecclesiasticall government before the[y] passe her Ma^ts^ consent and ratification."

I. [That the laws against recusants be executed.]

If Archbishops and Bishops had done the duty entrusted to them by Queen and Parliament, especially by the Statutes 1 Eliz. c. 2, and 5 Eliz. c. 23,

"either all Recusants had above these xx^tie^ yeers past yielded their bodies to prison without feare or daunger to the state, to the terror of their folowers dailie encreasing, or els upon proclamation standing out, would long since have yielded a great furtherance and benefit to her Mat^s^ coffers by £20 upon everie Capias, then is to be expected for manie years by this later course."

Severe measures at the first would have been wise, and would have saved true Christians from insolence. All men know that the Bishops themselves can best secure the execution of the laws by hearing the presentments of sworn men in every parish at their visitations. In this, however, they have been very slack, and so have discouraged men from proceeding against the Papists, while at the same time they have strengthened recusants and atheists by making bargains with them concerning "monie, leases, advousons, and other such like gratifications."

"It maie please her Ma^tie^ therefore, seing the multitude of Recusants after so long time of the gospell so greatlie abounding is chieflie to be imputed to the carlesse and corrupt execution of Ecclesiastical discipline and Jurisdiction"

[1] The numbering of the articles differs in extant copies, but the headings will afford sufficient direction.

to demand a great penalty from the Bishops, and commit such execution to approved men, sincere and incorrupt.

Outward show of obedience is little good, however, especially as certain Jesuits have recently declared that D^r^ Allen had undertaken to obtain a dispensation from the Pope allowing Catholics to conform outwardly by coming to church, so long as they remained sound in heart. Without doubt the best way to spread true religion is to

"further, favour, and encourage the number of true, painfull, watchfull, and zealous prechers, in no wise to devise and laye snars or stumbling blocks to put them to silence, to mousell or fetter their persons, courage, or service."

The Papists know this, and leave no stone unturned to stop preaching; throughout the land, where preaching is, Papistry is not; the owl, unable to bear the shining light of the Gospel, had fled to realms of darkness and ignorance.

II. & VI. [No book to be printed without the permission of the Archbishop &c. Only one translation of the Bible—that approved by the Bishops—to be used in worship.]

Article II. is derogatory to the Queen's Injunctions, for No. 51[1] sets forth the Queen's commands respecting the printing of books. If there is reason to alter this Injunction, the censorship of books which "offend chast ears and breede corrupt maners" should be committed to four divines and four lawyers. These are better qualified for the work than the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, for they, busy with other work, often delegate the examination of books to incapable inferiors.

"Besides...the Archb. and BB. are knowen affectionate parties in some late differences touching the ordering of Church government and reformation of manifold abuses in the Church of God,"

and so, fearing for their own estate, abuse their power. Many good men are jealous

"of this their censuring, least when painfull prechers mouthes be mousled and their heeles fettered, thei will fetter allso their handes for writing, that the world neither by word nor writing shall once take knowledge of the right or wrong of their cause."

[1] Wilkins, IV. 187; Sparrow, *A Collection of Articles &c.* 81 (ed. 1675); Prothero, *Statutes &c.* 188–9 (4th ed.).

If the intention is to prevent the "awnswering of the Jesuits Testament[1], allreadie by report in some good forwardnes," it shows clearly that the Bishops are no true friends of the Gospel. Probably they fear that the setting forth of the Gospel in its simplicity will destroy

"all...the reliques of poperie and Antichristianitie, and melt awaie their pompe and bellie to[o] suddainlie."

As to the use of one translation of the Bible, is it to be expected that men will throw aside the Genevan version and the notes attached, which have been so great a blessing?

The Bishops must admit—what all the world knows—that their translation was patched together by men,

"few or none of them exactlie grounded in the sound and perfect knowledge of the Hebrew, Sirian, and Greeke tongues, without which, be he never so learned otherwise, he must in translating saile with the winde and weather uncertainlie."

A new translation is promised when the Bishops meet in their Synod. But even if they had sufficient leisure, would they be able to make a good translation, or would they consent to one word which tells against themselves?

III. [Preaching, &c. in private houses is to be forbidden.]

It is regrettable that, after so long a profession of the Gospel, Christian means of edification should seem unsavoury and dangerous. It is not a question of schism or contention, but of want of spiritual food, for

"doe we not know that parishes ten for one through out England are unfurnished of a sufficient, able, preching ministerie?"

But perhaps this article also is aimed at godly ministers, who, after being ensnared with many wiles, are deprived, and sent begging with their families, at last finding relief in the house of some well-disposed person, whose children and servants they teach.

Or maybe the article condemns "all conference of ministers in private places, after a publique sermon." These gatherings

[1] The Rhemish New Testament appeared in 1582. At the request of noblemen and scholars, Cartwright undertook a reply. Whitgift prevented publication during the writer's lifetime, and it was not till 1618 that the work appeared, under the title: *A Confutation of the Rhemists Translation....*

—"since her Mat[s] generall restraint of some abuses of open disordered prophecies frequented in manie places of the Realme"—have been instrumental in

"stirring up and increasing of the ministers gifts, and discovering and confounding the adversaries practises and pamphlets,"

and the prohibition of such would be a blow to the Gospel.

IV. & XI. [That none preach &c. unless he be in Orders and say service and administer the Sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer at least four times a year.]

(*a*) No minister should preach &c. in another man's charge.

(*b*) Neither should a minister give Communion to any whom he has not catechised and found to be true Christians.

(*c*) If there is to be no catechising by men not in Orders, what becomes of the Doctor's office, set down in the Word? Are the exercises of commonplaces and catechising enjoined on graduates in the Universities for their better training in divinity, to be restrained? These have often led men to take Orders.

(*d*) In the present great lack of preachers, it is not well that laymen of good life and learning should be prevented from reading in the churches.

(*e*) Even the Canon Law allowed a priest of the Greek or African Churches to say mass, and therefore

"we do hardlie to exclude all ministers made in forraine parts (peradventure more neare the institution commended by the Apostles and used in the primitive Church) by them which are knit in one bond of profession of religion and faith inseparablie with us, from function or exercise of their ministerie among us, not once making daintie of Balaams priests nor question of their calling."

(*f*) If the insistence on the administration of the Sacraments four times a year is for the purpose of securing conformity, it is to be considered whether the rule should not be restricted to beneficed clergy. Thus able preachers—whose consciences do not allow them to use ceremonies which are Popish and superstitious, and yet who would keep in outward conformity with the church, and not rush "headlong to...

conceits of alterations"—would be allowed to proclaim the Gospel freely.

V. [That dispensations for non-residents to derive great benefit from cathedral churches be not granted.]

If this rule is limited to "Cathedrall churches of the old foundation," it will do little good. The Archbishop should have attempted a thorough reformation, for after twenty-six years of the Gospel, the life of the cathedral clergy is so evil that there is a proverb, "The nearer to the Church, the farther from God." Many wish that all Popish dispensations and the Court of Faculties itself were abolished with the Pope, from whom they came. Appropriations came from him likewise, and now they hinder the preaching of God's Word.

"And the benefit of great residence is likewise raised ordinarilie of a number of Appropriations, served sometimes with a S^r^ John Lacklatin for a small salarie, notwithstanding a thousand or two of simple communicants in those parishes perishing for want of instruction."

The cathedral clergy have brought non-residence to a fine art; they whine if they have not two of the fattest benefices in the diocese—served by lean curates with lean stipends—and "the bloud of...manie soules" will be required at their hands, for they neither preach nor visit their people, keep hospitality nor attend on the bishop. They should form a body of advisers for their Ordinary, but instead they quarrel among themselves and with him,—especially about leases and fee-farms,—and all the time,

"that which is most lamentable and crieth for vengeance dailie..., whole Countries, in divers places yielding their whole Tithes to the bellie cheere of these loitering fat fed great Residentiaries, for want of instruction and preching of the gospell, die in ignorance, are misledde with traiterous practises, and therbie prove miserable for their own soules, and daungerous to the state of her Ma^tie^ and the gospell."

Some allowance must be made for "the Metropolitan Canons and others of the princes foundation," but their continual residence should be demanded. Unfortunately Canterbury sets the worst of examples in this respect.

VII. [That commutation of penance be rare &c.]

This article contains nothing new; what is required is the

execution of existing laws. If a bishop and his officers will take a large sum and give but a small punishment for a serious offence, or if they first inflict a heavy penalty in order to extort money in commutation, what is the good of passing new laws? When a bishop is a party to the bribery of his officers, how can corruption be checked? This article encourages corruption by allowing an offender to render satisfaction to his Ordinary privately; true repentance, as the Fathers and learned men have taught, must be public, and before the whole congregation.

VIII. & IX. [Writs "De Excommunicato Capiendo" should go from the Ordinary without charge upon him, and be strictly executed by the Sheriffs.]

These articles are right, but why should the Bishops, who enjoy "great lands and large revenues," be so eager to be reimbursed of a small charge. How they reveal their characters, when—after twenty-six years in which every effort to make them perform their duty has failed—they say that the return of this charge will result in a more faithful execution of this function! This shows that the land could have been cleared of Papists or the Queen's coffers filled, if only the Bishops had been faithful; in future negligent Ordinaries should be severely punished.

"It is lesse marvaile Sherifs have had small care and conscience in these services heretofore, for that thei see the irreligious proceedings of Ordinaries herein, unless it be for private gain or revenge, and oftentimes against the better sort of Christian subjects."

Wise men fear that the Bishops may abuse the power they ask for;

"if upon everie proceeding ex mero officio this raine be looosed to Ordinaries for cost me naught, it mai be the poore precher or reader after living lost, shall allso loose his lybertie and lie by the heeles."

Good preachers and the laymen who support them will be entrapped by tricks of the Canon Law, "unless thei will serve under the yoake of everie M^{r} Officiall or his scribe."

X. [That preachers wear the apparel enjoined in the *Advertisements*.]

In the time of Popery "popish shavelings" were outside the jurisdiction of the civil magistrates, so long as they wore clerical dress, and they gladly "were araied with the marke and apparell of the beast" in order to escape punishment for their "accustomed monstrous outrages." Now, when priests are subject to civil law, "the better sort" think such uniformity of apparel less needful.

"And yet such a swarme of unworthie ministers have bene dailie made de faece populi, which raunge in everie Countrei like to greedie flies for some xx^{tie} nobles by the yeere and meat and drinke, that this uniformitie of apparell maie now allso be necessarie to cover the shame of such a broode from the open contempt and disdain of the multitude."

How happily

"had of long time this fruitlesse urging the conformity of cap and tippet lien dead,"

to the great peace of the Church, and now its renewal only makes the godly to grieve and the Papists to rejoice. Surely the Bishops should allow every minister to settle for himself concerning his clothing, shewing the world his calling by life and character rather than by "such reliques and badges of Antichrist." No man can abide the wearing of "his mortall enemies badge upon his servants sleeve," and this taking away of Christian liberty doth but make that enemy to laugh and jeer. Further, it is superstitious to believe that the efficacy of a service depends on the attire of the minister, and no preacher can convince the people of Popery while he himself is addicted to Popish and superstitious practices.

XII., XIII. & XIV. [Concerning the admission of fit men to Orders &c.]

This pretended care for an able ministry is but to deceive the Queen and Council with hope of a speedy reformation. The Bishops have many times declared their intention of reforming the ministry, and as many times Christ, His Church, and His people, have been betrayed.

"How manie Statute lawes, BB. Canons and advertisements containe this selfsame charge and direction?"

Indeed, the old Canon Laws went further than these

articles, for they enjoined that a bishop should himself maintain clergy he ordained who were not provided for.

Again, the articles give the Archbishop power to suspend a bishop from ordaining for a period of two years, if he ordain unworthy ministers. This was already enacted by the Canon Law, which ordained that the insufficient minister—who is now to escape altogether—should be punished also.

"But what if [a] B. make so manie ministers at that one time as his Diocese can not entertaine ten yeres after, for example iii or iiii score at once?"

This is no rare occurrence, and a bishop would not mind two years' suspension from ordaining in such case. And how will the Archbishop hear of a bishop's illegal ordinations? How will he learn what takes place in a bishop's private chamber—for the article does not insist on public ordination with the assistance of learned preachers as examiners? Who will inform him? Who will dare "to hang the bell about the cattes necke in these times"? Just as in the days of Popery a man was persecuted if he spoke but one word against the established order, so now, if a man speak of the reformation of church abuses, he is harassed by the Bishops, who fear for their lands and wealth. "By and by thei bustle alltogether and by one devise or other dubbe him a puritan," and then spare not in pursuing him, being assisted by "the counterfaite papist and bribing Atheist." There is no need to give examples of this, for every diocese furnishes them.

"But seeing the world is allreadie full of most unworthie ministers made directlie contrarie to the like lawes heretofore in force, how can this severitie in after choise be hoped for, or recover the Church, unles the deformitie of the former be allso reformed? Otherwise this new generation of ministers will looke to prevaile and through the greedines of patrones and corruptions of officers will still forestall the Universitie to the shipwracke of the Church, wherby these orders will quicklie be forgotten for want of carefull execution, especiallie seing...there is no direction given for the attendance of the best affected and learned in the Diocese to assist the B. and his Chauncelor in and concerninge this triall and examination to be made."

Further, if a bishop admit an unqualified man to a benefice, what is to happen? These articles neither nullify the

institution nor state a penalty. And by whom will reformation be sought, bishop, parson and patron being alike well pleased? Unless proper examiners are appointed, bishops' officers will simply use the articles for further corruption.

XV. [Concerning dispensations for marriage without banns.]

The Book of Common Prayer requires that banns should be published three times, and this admission of the occasional granting of dispensations

"is a politique meanes under pretence of reformation to strengthen so weake a staffe, to the great gaine of Ecclesiasticall Officers, to manie mischiefs among the Subjects."

XVI. [Concerning the demand for subscription to the Queen's Supremacy, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Articles of Religion.]

Subscription in matters of religion should be required only after very careful consideration; it should not be sudden, and with threatening of suspension and deprivation. The folly of subscribing hastily was shown by "that excellent and famous learned man Martin Bucer" in a disputation with D^r^ Yonge of Cambridge in the time of King Edward, and many ministers—ordered to subscribe before they preach, catechise, or read service—tremble lest they should obey carelessly, without putting all things to the touchstone of God's Word.

Neither can ministers obtain clear guidance from lawyers, for civil and canon lawyers disagree. Take the case of a minister in a small charge, who is anxious to serve God to the best of his ability by preaching and catechising. Desiring to carry on his work, and to keep the peace of the Church, he subscribes,

"and therfore when he looketh into the universall charge of an Archb. or B., he trembleth at the largenes and widenes therof, or looking into the carlesnes of Nonresidents, pampered up for the most part in the Universities, Cathedrall churches, Princes, Noble men, Archb. and BB. palaces, doth forsee and lament so readie entrance for bloudie superstition in such blindnes of all people; yf this poore man be asked on a suddaine...whether he can with a good conscience and by the worde of God warrant or allow anie or manie of these BB. beside their owne great and ample charge, to have further in Commendam, some £100 or 200 marks by yeere (as benefices are valued in the Queenes books) therby to hold foure or

five of the greatest benefices that he can get, will he not burst out in the zeale of Gods spirit to the abhomination of such presidents and then his former subscription laied in his dish, against it argueth small conscience after to gainsay."

To make the matter pleasing to the Queen, and to suggest the existence of some "daungerous monster," the first subscription demanded is to Her Majesty's Supremacy. This demand is altogether superfluous, however, for every ordained minister has already testified on oath to the same many times.

Without doubt the Queen possesses all authority; long may she continue to do so without "contradiction and to[o] curious sifting and enquirie of the maner or limitations of the same"; indeed the only people who object to this supremacy are the Papists.

The aim of the Bishops, however, is to ensnare men by crafty means and to sear their consciences, to persuade them to subscribe to authority, and then claim that they have subscribed to all abuses. Instead of acting thus, they should petition the Queen for the removal of those evil things which were not espied when the first beams of the Gospel shone. She made a glorious beginning in dethroning the Pope and establishing the Books of Common Prayer and Ordering of Priests, &c., but blemishes in these books have come to light, and a reformed second edition should be issued. On this point too, the minister,—hearing arguments on both sides, and knowing that learned foreign divines write against the retention of imperfections in the Church,—fears lest he should form a hasty judgment. He should be allowed time to buy and examine the books, and if he concludes that they contain things contrary to the Word of God, he is right in refusing to subscribe. What bishop, knowing that baptism by women is "somewhat mysticallie expressed...but publiquelie notoriouslie executed and wincked at...by warrant or under color of that book" could conscientiously demand subscription, and what minister could yield to it?

Again, why should subscription be required to the positive laws of consecration and ordering? Erasmus once said of Luther, "he toucheth two things in the prelats that beare no handling, their Pompe and their Bellie,"

and it is because the Bishops fear attacks on these things that they require subscription, and persecute those who call them to consider their duty.

The Statute 13 Eliz. c. 12, demands subscription to the doctrinal articles only, and why should the Bishops go farther, and

"covertlie beyond law bring into our Credo such other positive articles concerning their owne consecration and superioritie in Church government, and the ordering of the priests, deacons, and such other like points, cleane without the expresse wordes and meaning of the saied Statute"?

It is pretended that "onelie a few...and those unlearned, factious, and troublesome ministers" refuse to subscribe, and thus show their wilful perversity as against "all the reverend BB., Deanes, Canons, Doctors, and chief governors and graduats of the Universitie." Nevertheless Christian princes who have felt the remorse of conscience will not readily condemn those who stand—humbly but firmly—to what they believe is right.

An example of the harm done by enforcing subscription is to be found in Germany, in "the last subscription to the Lutheranisme and other deformities testified in their booke of Concordia." This should make us afraid to tread in the steps of the "Septem theologi Tubingenses," who fraudulently undermined the Princes and the Protestants by persuading thousands to subscribe "to their so manie and foule absurdities[1]."

"To conclude, these men which are so streight beset and so sore like to be pursued, let them be compared for painfullnes of preching, and that with power, and the spirit of true humilitie and innocencie of life, for the great blessing folowing their labours by zeale and Christian information, the mutuall love and band of the Spirit betweene them and their Congregation for good contentment with anie convenient maintenance, without greedie seeking to alter, with our ordinarie Churchmen, what difference? Is there anie marvaile, if Idle loitering drones, double or treble beneficed men in the Countrei, the Atheist and the Papist conspire with some weaker brethren (who maie justlie envie the credit and successe of their watchfullnes above their owne) to suppresse these men who never disturbe the publique peace of the Church, but in Gods cause,

[1] An account of this may be found in "that most excellent and famous discoverie of their fraud and treacherie and their grosse and pallpable errors attributed to Ursinus."

provoked with all dutifull obedience, communicate with the Congregation, not separating themselves from the Church, perswading by their example, credit, and conference, the weaker and simpler sort in no wise to dissever themselves, whose faithfull praiers with tears, are poured out daie and night for the preservation of her ma^tie, the Realme, and peace of the Church, that, God being pleased, we may be preserved from the rage of all the Antichristian broode, whose treasonable treacheries the more thei seeme to amasse us, the more jelous we should be by all Christian meanes to encourage the true professors of the gospell, her Mat^e faithfullest subjects, when time of triall shall be, in inward hart and soule, and in all outward service and obedience to live and die at her feete...."

2. [1584.] "An other awnswer to the former articles contained in the petition of the ArchB. to her Majestie."

I. [Of recusants.]

This request is very necessary for the Church.

"I wish like care were had that the number of Recusants increase not, as they have done of late yeers by open encouragement of ignorance and by labour to suppress those under whose hands the Church in manie places hath growen to great knowledge. I allow M^r Whitakers opinion, delivered in the Dedicatory epistle of his last booke[1] directed to the L. Trer. that neither making nor execution of lawes, nor writing bookes of confutation, shall ever do good in our Church, untill we maie have a lawfull mynistry, that is, of sufficient aptitie to teach, the hinderance wherof will certainlie fall out in the execution of manie of these articles."

II. & XI. [Of translations of the Bible &c.]

It is necessary that there should be some restriction by wise and learned persons, but this power has been abused, e.g. by Gardiner and Bonner. Although one does not like to compare the Bishops "with so bad men," yet it must be remembered that they are but men, with human frailties. Seeing that during all the reign the Genevan translation of the Bible and the annotations thereto have been used by many, and that Beza's translation of the New Testament, with the valuable notes attached, is very popular, the continued use of these should be allowed. The restriction to one translation in public worship is unwise, for it will make the common people compare

[1] "Responsionis ad Decem illas Rationes, quibus fretus Ed. Campianus certamen Rodense Anglicanae ministris obtulit in causa fidei, Defensio contra Confutationem Joannis Durasi Scoti, Presbyteri, Jesuitae." Lond. 8vo. 1583.

translations. Again if the restriction is decided upon, the translation chosen should not be one made by incompetent men.

"I know that for the countenance of this article unitie is pretended, which is the shadow of all the broiles latelie stirred in Germany, and I feare me will worke as much mischief in England."

For twenty-four years the use of many translations has not disturbed the unity of the Church, and even the Church of Rome allowed many until the decree of the Council of Trent. It is strange that the Bishops are so eager to suppress translations of the Scriptures when they might devote their energies to the

"staie of infinite numbers of books, printed to the corruption of mens manners and dishonor of allmightie God, wherof some one oftentimes doth more hurte in one moneth, then can be found to have happened by Translations all the...raigne."

At the same time the allowance of "books of the state" is a civil matter, and pertains to the Lords of the Council, whose prerogative is touched by this request of the Bishops.

III. & IV. i. [Of preaching, &c. in private houses.]

There are many reasons why ministers are kept in private houses, among them being distance from a church, age and infirmity, and especially the need of teaching the children. Further, the ordinary pastor is very busy, and is unable to give much time to each family. If, therefore, a godfearing man should provide additional instruction and means of grace for himself and his children by keeping a minister in his house, he is to be commended and not disgraced.

"But it is saide that this teaching and catechizing in private houses is a note of Schisme, and causeth contentions. I graunt that when men gather to private assemblies, and therwith divide themselves from the outward societie of the Church, or refuse the common exercises therof, and (as Ciprian by a corrupt phrase noted) do set up one altar against another as the Novatians and Donatists did, it was an argument of schisme and bredde contention: but that the meeting of men remayning in the unitie of the Church, seeking to supplie by further helpe the want of common instruction, have bene taken for Schismaticall, will never be proved by anye sufficient president or authoritie. And sure I am that the exercises of popish religion as Masse shrift etc., have bene permitted in private houses without note of schisme, and without barring any from participation of the same."

It is better to allow gatherings in gentlemen's houses than to

"mynister occasion to the meaner sorte to seeke to places voide of wise oversight and controlment."

ii. [That preachers, &c. administer the Sacraments at least four times a year.]

It has been said before that men without pastoral charge cannot be certain that they are administering the Communion to persons of good life, for they have no power to catechise and examine. The old custom is a good one—no man should administer the Sacraments to another man's parishioners,—and none should be admitted to Communion "absque communicatoriis literis" from another church.

V. [Of apparel.]

"The quarell of the tippet and square cap hath long since bene buried with all mens good contentation, all sorts in the mynistery leaving of[f] that sorte of apparell, as well double beneficed men and nonresidents (who in that respect are thought to be men of most conformity) as other, and can not now be renewed without great disturbance of the quiet of the Church, and I thinke those which are now called conformable will be as much troubled herewith as the rest. I have to leade me to this conjecture not onelie conference with some of them, but allso myne experience in a like case. For within these 12 or 13 yeers Mathew, then Archb., attempted to bring the wafer cake into the mynistration of the communion[1], prescribed by her Ma^{ts} Injunctions (as the square cappes), he incensed her Ma^{ty} pretending disorder growen and disobedience greatlie encouraged by breach of her Injunctions. The matter was earnestlie resisted even by some of the BBs. and other persons of countenance in the Clergie, whose actions I was privy unto, and was like to have growen to a marvailous garboile, had not her Ma^{ty} of her gratious favor made staie of this proceeding. The comfortable duty which her Ma^{tie} found in this people and citizens of London, passing at that time through the Citie, was thought much to further their travaile who then dealt with her Ma^{tie} for her favour: my L. of Leicester, if he be put in remembraunce hereof, knoweth this cause more certainlie: the peace of our Church in this point is a monument of his honourable service to God at that time, for which I doubt not but he shall finde his reward."

VI. [Of Orders.]

This article does not affect many, but it is unreasonable if

[1] See Strype, *Parker*, II. 32–5.

it excludes from preaching those ordained in "reformed Churches" abroad.

"For seing we maintaine one profession of religion and live in one Communion, what cause is there why we should refuse their mynisters or by refusall disgrace the mynistrie of foraine Churches?"

In Edward VI's time, John Alasco was allowed to teach at Paul's and Paulus Fagius in Cambridge; Monsieur Villers has been allowed at the Mercers' Chapel and St Dunstan's in London, and Monsieur Barowe has read and preached at Cambridge for a long time. Mr Gilby and Mr Whittingham are also cases in point. It is pitiful that we can authorise men like Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer to a ministry they would not deem lawful, while rejecting their undoubtedly lawful ministry. If the ministry of such men is not warranted by the laws—although their case was not thought of when the laws were made—it is surely enough that they do not take benefices or preferment; they should not be prevented from reading lectures, especially when it is remembered that many unordained men do this in colleges and cathedral churches (e.g. Mr Bird in Norwich Cathedral all the reign, and Sir Thomas Smith—"who was learned and wise and knew well what was meete for him to doe"—at Eton while Provost).

VII. [Of subscription.]

1. To the Queen's Supremacy.

If a minister refuses to subscribe according to the Acts of 1559 and 1571, he deserves to be cut off from the commonwealth as well as from the ministry. Nevertheless such subscription should have been deemed sufficient, for none but Papists deny the Queen's supreme power. Some ministers fear to subscribe to the statement that the Queen's authority is according to the Word of God, because it is not clear how far that authority extends; learned men disagree about it, some saying it is equal to the Pope's "*Ex plenitudine potestatis*," others to his "*potestate ordinaria*," and debatable matters should not be subscribed.

2. To the Books of Common Prayer and Ordering and the Articles of Religion.

(*a*) Every minister would allow that these Books and Articles were made and allowed in the fear of God, and in

accordance with the Word of God, so far as was foreseen at the time.

(*b*) No minister can be found—"for Browne and Harrison who are rashly gone with verie fewe from our Church I speake not"—who during the past eight or nine years has held a man to be justified in separating himself from the Church for any matter found in these books.

(*c*) All admit that if the Queen delegate her authority to bishops, these should be obeyed as she is herself. But all men acknowledge obedience to her, and therefore further subscription was unnecessary.

(*d*) The law limits subscription to the doctrinal articles. The Bishops therefore, are opposing their devices to the care and wisdom of Queen and Parliament, for these had "regard to mens consciences."

At no time in the Church's history has subscription in the form "I believe that" been required except to the Word of God and things derived directly from it. This precedent should be followed, for all men's books have faults, and if the ministers have to subscribe books that are continually changing, "the vulgar people" would soon fall into atheism.

If a man, sound in doctrine, but doubtful in some matters of the Books, be deprived, does the schism begin in him or in those who deprive him? Uniformity is given as the reason for subscription, but

"such an uniformitie...as shall be voide of difference of opinion never yet was, nor never shall be founde, but onelie in ignorance,"

and

"dissent in judgement about matters positive or which do not concerne faith, were never alone accounted for schisme....Schisme is departure from the church by open division and making private congregations, with refusal of the commen society of the church, which yet, God be thanked, hath not happened save in Browne and Harison onely."

The articles are directed against men who have kept the peace of the church and prevented thousands from falling into schism. If they are taken from their congregations the people will forsake the church, for non-residents and double beneficed men will not suffice to keep them.

VIII., IX. & XIII.[1]

These were "for the moste parte" decreed in the Synod of 1575, and so they are unnecessary.

"The Church never since hath had use of them, for thei have bene forgotten."

X. [Of double quarrel.]

"This article hath some grounde of complaint, but as yet I see no provision for remedie."

XII. [Of great residence in cathedral churches.]

Probably the Queen will not yield her authority, but continue to give this benefit to those who serve her (as Dr Dale). The Archbishop is sufficiently restrained by Order of Faculties, given by the Lords of the Council. The article does not help the Church, but will probably only serve

"to draw more from their Benefices to loyter in Cathedrall Churches then do at this daie allreadie."

XIV. [Of dispensations for banns.]

The article makes "a faire shew," but without good faith, for its suggestions have had twelve years' trial in London, without success. Licences should be given only at the request of the parents of the parties. The "secrete drift" of the article is to get the Queen's authority to licence in some cases, for many hold that to give a licence at present is illegal, the Book of Common Prayer (established by Act of Parliament) making banns necessary.

XVI. & XVII. ["De Excommunicato Capiendo."]

At the last Parliament, several Lords of the Council advised the Bishops to redress the abuse of excommunication, but here they do the opposite, for if every unlearned Commissary—governed only by desire for gain, and often unsound in religion—be given full power, their extortions will be intolerable.

3. [1584.] By T. N.

[A Contents List has:—"Mr Norton's answeare to the Archbishops articles."]

"It hath bene heretofore advised by divers Reverende fathers the bishops, and by preachers and other honourable and good men

[1] Only the numbers are given, and the purport of the articles does not appear from the answer.

lovinge the peece of the churche, bothe in sermons and otherwise, that suche men whose conscience did mislike some thinges lefte in the churche woulde not therefore disturbe the churche, but expecte either satisfyinge or reformation by the highe authoritie that hathe power to judge. And speciallie that the preachers woulde joyne together againste the papistes, the Enemies of God and of her Ma^tie^, and not spende themselves in civill warres of the churche of God.

Accordinge to this advise, it hathe pleased God so to frame the hartes of those preachers and other, that they reste in obedience to be subjecte to the lawes, and to distreate Bysshops to moderate them so that they trouble not the churche for trifles. The quarrell is that way that those prechers houlde themselves what good soever they do, yet to want the preferment that other have, and onelye teache the matters of faith and manners, forbearynge controversies in our own churche, contendinge onlye with the Busshops against the churche of Antichriste. If anye undiscreat man breake out of order, his fellow ministers by advise, or the Bysshop by authoritie, without hue or crie or public noise, to the triumphe of the Papistes, have and maye godlie and wiselie temper or directe and correcte hym. This beynge soe, it hathe not bene thought good to be emulator, or rather *calumniator fratrum*, and so stir up *malum bene conditum*, and speciallie, it leaste perteynethe to my lords grace from whose person upon some accidents turbulent thinges hath bene by some men expected, but rather it maye be to his honorable creditte that he hathe not *memorem iram non consonam animis coelestibus*, and that his grace maye contente hym that his travell heretofore hathe avayled to the calminge of former stormes without raysing new."

I. This article is very good, but why has action against recusants not been taken before, according to law? Is it because the Bishops object to lay justices having power in this matter[1], and so do not give them support?

Also, in praying the Queen that the laws against recusants might be executed, the Bishops imply that the Queen has hindered such execution in the past, when it is really they themselves who have failed in their duty. They have neither required their clergy to notify them of all recusants in their parishes, nor have they used the powers vested in them by the High Commission.

II. The restraint of translations and annotations of the

[1] When the bill was discussed, "a great prelate" said "that rather then he would suffer that Scholemen shoulde professe their conformitie to Christian religion before laye judges, whome he caulled blynde Justices, his grace would saie naye to the whole Bill of Religion."

Bible, is harmful to learning. It would be sufficient to command that all the Bibles kept in churches according to law, should be of the same translation.

III. This article "requireth a gentle interpretation" in order that guests and visitors in private houses might not be accused of schism.

IV. This article would prevent the reading of Divinity lectures in the Universities by men who are not qualified to administer the Sacraments, as well as the catechising of children by parents and schoolmasters, &c. &c. It should therefore be revised, and made to reform two evils viz.

1. "The sufferance of corrupt privat scholemasters," the fruit of whose work is seen in the fact that three quarters of the Papists "are under 35 yeares olde, and so learned theire papistrie in her ma^ties owne tyme."

2. "The retayninge of such parsons to be prestes as have bene admitted by bysshops, and are not able to performe the thinges that are here reserved for onely priestes." Thus we have people without instruction, simony, unworthy men in the ministry and learned men unable to get livings—all due to the Bishops, who have admitted so many unfit men.

V. 1. This article withdraws Canons of cathedral churches from their pastoral duties.

2. It fails to emphasise preaching and catechising. Indeed, "in the whole articles there is not one worde affirmative to preache, teache, read, or catechise etc., except etc., layeth all the articles open to suspition that they came from a spirit not desirous of preachinge, teachinge, etc., where in truth and experience the Queenes subjectes faile of their dutie and benefite, and papistrie, heresie, rebellions, affections, do growe upon the people for lacke of preachinge, teachinge, catechizing etc."

VI. It is right that only one translation of the Bible should be read in churches, but the one allowed by the Bishops "is houlden of manie that it is moste negligently done that ever was."

VII.[1] There is no assurance that this will be executed, for similar regulations have been ignored.

VIII. & IX. Excommunication is not reserved as a punishment for the greatest offences, but is used for trifling

[1] It is impossible to gather the purport of this article from the answer.

matters, and therefore these articles give too much power to Commissaries—many of them "unskilfull corrupt men,"—and help towards "establishinge an overgrowinge of the lordes of the Cleargie over the Queenes lay subjectes." In this way rose "the proudest pope that ever trodd on Emperors necke," and so the mitre has always been considered the enemy of "the Crowne, nobilitie and common estate." If the articles were limited to special cases, as in the Act De Excommunicato Capiendo, and aimed at "papists, Recusants, and suche lewde Enemies of Christe," it would be well, but

"when excommunications where so ranke, it was thought good that Praemunire where not forgotten."

X. While sober men do not deny that uniformity of priests' apparel is necessary as a matter of civil order and obedience, yet they deny that it is a matter of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

XI. This article shows a spirit that fears preaching more than Papistry. It would tell hardly on non-ordained Readers in the Universities, and would exclude from preaching those made ministers in foreign reformed churches. It is not clear whether it refers to all men made ministers before 1558, or only to "Popish priests," and its restraint of all exercises in private houses is ill considered, for these have often done great good.

XII. The part of this article that is good was agreed upon in the Synod of 1575, but the "indulgence to the vacabonde ministers" is thoroughly bad, because it promotes simony and the preferment of unworthy men. The execution of the article is left to the Bishops, and what attention it will receive may be noted from the fact that it was ordained in 1575 and altogether forgotten in 1580.

XIII & XIV. These administrative articles, aimed at avoiding wrangling about fees, are good in themselves, but there is little prospect of men who have failed to obey them in the past obeying them in the future. No punishment is ordained for the Archbishop if he fails in his duty, and thus he is made "a punisher [of other bishops] only," while there is no example on record of "suspendinge a Bp. for his deceavinge the churche,"

"but principally there lackethe a meane to clense the churche of those unfitt ones with whome it is clogged, defrauded, and sclandered alreadie, that are in noe likeliehoode to be fitt for anie churche—of this there is no great hope at the handes of my L. But it is thrusted to be a honoure and grace of God reserved to her Ma^ties visitation for purginge of the churche, in which bothe the unfitt priestes may be removed from the callinge, and the offendinge Busshops taught to know the Authoritie and Zeale of theire Soveraygne: for this and for part of the former Article there is sufficient provision alreadie by the statute of xiii°, wherebie the admission is voyde as if it never weare, and so this Article is but to thruste out a good sure remedie, and to provide a worse, and..., as it is penned, extendeth onelie to punishe the Archb. of Yorke and other Busshops, without geveinge hym or anie other anie power to reforme the Archb. of Cant., howe much soever he offende in like case."

XV. "This dispensing" of banns before marriage is dangerous, favouring adulterers, and subversive of morality and order. It came from the Pope, and it is difficult to imagine a case where it is right and necessary; any priest who performs the marriage ceremony before the banns have been read the legal number of times should be *ipso facto* deprived.

XVI & XVII. "Matters of preachinge" still "goe under a negative"—Papists are treated much more leniently than preachers. These articles are dangerous, for they offend the Universities and touch the Queen's prerogative.

XVIII. "The first Article to be subscribed hath so principall terme not true, but much injurious to her Ma^tie, and by a good subject cannot be subscribed, for it is to allowe the authoritie in causes Ecclesiastical geven to the Queene by the lawes of the Relme, where in truth the lawes of this Relme do not give to the Queene the Ecclesiasticall power, but is originallie incident to the reall crowne of Christian Kinges without geveinge it by the Civill Lawes. And therefore the wisdome of Parliament did purposelie and expreselie refuse the tearme of geveinge, and intituled the Statute Recognition or Restitution of her Ma^ties &c...."

Therefore to bind ministers to say the Queen's power is given by the laws is "noe good or dutifull speache."

XIX. "If the ministers do not acknowledge the baptizinge by women or some suche matter whereat their conscience stumbleth, which is allowed in the booke of commen prayer, thoughe not commaunded to be, accordinge to the worde of God, thoughe such ministers can be contented to leave it unreprehended for the peace sake of the Church, it is verye hard to make hereof a publike

quarrell, denie preachinge etc., and not to rewarde their peaceable silence with a gentle toleration...."

XX & XXI. Here a subscription and search of conscience is required from brethren agreeing in doctrine, and not from Papists, although Papistry is daily joined with treason. The Queen and Parliament did indeed decree a subscription for ministers, but they were wise enough to limit it to doctrinal articles only. Now because the ministers are said to have done wrong, the people are to suffer[1], for they are not to be instructed or comforted, defended against heresies or established in loyal obedience, because a minister has failed to obey the Book in every detail. Two things are necessary for the remedy of disorders in the Church:

1. The Queen should purge the Church, as she did in the first year of her reign, and let the Bishops know that she will punish their negligence.

2. The Bishops should obey the Queen, follow God's Word, and be at peace with their brethren,—"so many as do not abhorre from the societie of oure churche of England,"—

"and...do not as the popish Bbs. did, to stand to the defence of the meaneste ceremonie or trifle, and of the outwarde wall keepe the Inner dungeon of theire dignitie further from assaultinge, I meane the dignitie that hath bene claymed of Lordships over their brethren, other than a power receaved from her ma^tie^ to administer her good meaninge in causes ecclesiastical, in which onelie respect thei be truelie and lawfullie lordes.

Quae dei deo. Quae Caesaris Caesari."

123. [1584?] "The offer of the mynisters to the Counsaile concerning Subscription." (No names.)

To the first concerning her Ma^ts^ soveraigne authoritie according to the 37 in the booke of Articles, which is of Civill Magistrates, we most willinglie subscribe.

To the second, of the booke of Articles, as farre as by Parliament hath bene thought meete should be required, that is, such onelie of them as concerne doctrine of faith and of the Sacraments, taking them in that sense that is best, as is meete for us to doe, and as the booke of the Harmony of confessions have done in the articles

[1] According to the proverb, "Because John hathe dressed the dynner, though he serve it not over the borde, Richard shall faste till he starve."

inserted in the Apologie of the church of England[1], we likewise most willinglie subscribe.

For the other articles in it, [and] the booke of Common prayer and of Consecration, we humblie crave to be respited till such time as we may be satisfied (according to the statute in this behalf) in such points as yet seeme to us to be contrarie to the word of God and to the judgment both of other Churches professing the gospell with us, and of the best writers of our time. Notwithstanding which points we promise, as we have done heretofore, to tender the peace of our Church, and for these matters to make no separation from it.

124. [1584?] "Questions to be awnswered concerning the archbs. urginge of subscription."

1. Whether it be lawfull for any man to maintaine a jurisdiction that shall touche the bodies, goods, or lives of any of the Queene Ma^ties^ subjects, grounded upon the popes authority, and justeling against her highnes roiall crowne and scepter, yea or no?

2. Whether it be not unlawfull for any man of any estate and degree whatsoever to alienate the harts of her Ma^ts^ subjects to the love of a papall Jurisdiction, to be so toughly addicted to maintaine a domynion that standeth upon the same rocke that the popes authoritie doth; that rather then any whit of that shall be forgone, the meanes of her Ma^ts^ peace, her crowne and dignitie, shall rather be hazarded, her best subjects disquieted, and sworne enemies animated against God and her godlie proceedings?

3. Whether any man of any degree or calling whatsoever either Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, may take upon them to publish any new lawes or Canons besides these that are confirmed by acte of parliament or by a Provinciall and Synodall Councell or Convocation, being first called and authorised by her Ma^ts^ writ, and confirmed by her roiall assent, and if thei doe, what is the daunger therof?

[1] *An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches, which purelie professe the holy doctrine of the Gospell in all the chiefe Kingdomes, Nations, and Provinces of Europe* was first issued in Latin, "in the name of the Churches of Fraunce and Belgia," in 1581. An English translation was published by Thomas Thomas, Printer to the University of Cambridge, in 1586. Whitgift seems to have tried to prevent publication [see Strype, *Annals*, III. 1. 650–1; Rev. W. Pierce, *The Marprelate Tracts*, 26–7], but the title-page bears the words "Alowed by publique authoritie." The "Catalogue of the Confessions whereof This Harmonie is framed" says: "The English confession was inserted in the generall apologie written in the yere 1562, in the behalfe of the English Churche."

4. Whether it be not sufficient for him that shall be placed in any place of the mynisterie of this Church of England, to shew his consent and obedience to subscribe according to the words of the statute made A° 13 of her Ma^ties raigne, that he agreeth to so much in the articles as concerneth the doctrine of faith and sacraments, but must further subscribe that all is sound and good in the articles, in the booke of Common prayer, and in the booke of consecrating Archb^s and Bps, and ordayning, as thei call them, priests and deacons?

5. Whither the same subscription urged and taken without regard for the justifying of things amisse, bee not the verie wickett to Atheisme, and to kill all conscience and feare of God?

6. Whether those that so subscribe, living from their flocks, chopping and chaunging, selling and buying, benefices, prebendes, and Churche lyvings, living licentiouslie and riotouslie be therby acquited from all Ecclesiasticall censures and punishments?

Booke of Articles.

7. Whether in the booke of articles, the Scriptures be well distinguished, the Apocripha from the Canonicall, seeing Hester, Baruch, Susanna, and the story of Bell be made Canonicall, and the Epistle to the Hebrewes, the revelation of John etc. be made not Canonicall?

8. Whether there ought to be any Archb^s or lord Bbs. with their titles and offices in the Church, and what thei meane by their Consecration?

9. Whether the third article of Christs descending into hell, be so fullie and plainlie put downe as it ought?

10. Whether the 7^th^ article,...concerning the not receivinge of the Civill precepts of Moses, be well put downe, seing many of the Civill precepts of Moses stand in force, and are not abolished?

11. Whether the 16^th^ article, mentioning deadlie sinne, do not savor of that popish distinction of sinne, deadlie and veniall? and whether it bee not daungerous to saie: A man maie fall from grace?

12. Whether the 17^th^ article, speaking of election, be well put downe, that maketh no mention of reprobation, seing Paule, speaking of the one, speaketh of the other? And whether the doctrine of predestination of it self is daungerous, and maie cause a daungerous downfall to any, as is put downe in the article?

13. Whether the 19^th^ article do describe a visible Church sufficientlie enoughe, leaving out Discipline a necessarie marke therof, which the booke of Common praier acknowledgeth to be necessarie, and wisheth to be restored? Againe, whether this article condemning an unlearned ministrie be not contrary to the practise of our Church and the Booke of Common prayer, that doth allowe of such a mynister as can turne that booke, and saie that service?

14. Whether Generall Councels can be assembled under Christian Kings without their speciall authoritie? and where thei be not,

whether thei maie not be assembled without them, as was the Councill at Hierusalem by the Apostles?

15. Whether it were not fitte to adde in the 20th article somewhat of prayer against the dead?

16. Whether the 23rd article, of calling mynisters, be full, seing Gods word setteth downe who thei be that should call, what they are to be called, and in what order, of all which there is no manner of mention?

17. Whether, as in the 32nd article and in the booke of Common prayer, and in many places els, the name of priest be rightlie given to the mynisters of Gods word? and whether Bishops were not a more meete name, comprehending all, rather then to divide them that are one? whether an archbishop may not be called an archpriest, or an high priest, as well?

18. Whether, as is contained in the 33rd article, one that is rightlie excommunicate maie be reconciled by penance, as thei call it? and whether any one that is no mynister, being a Chauncelor, an Officiall, an Archdeacon, or such like, have any thing to do in a pastors charge, to excommunicate or to reconcile alone such as are obstinate offenders?

19. Whether the appointing of Ceremonies belong to princes or to generall, Nationall or Provinciall Councells, or to particular Synods of everie Congregation? And whether such ceremonies must be brought into the Church as are taken from the Gentiles or Papistes, are offensive, serve not to edification, have the shew of evill, and are besides the generall rules of the Scriptures?

Homilies.

20. Whether the 35th article, of Homilies, be to be subscribed to as having all thinges set downe in just waite and measure, without imperfection or errour[1]?

21. Whether those homilies be better than sermons, and maie serve the turne to shutte out a learned mynisterye?

[Nos. 22–36 are concerned with various points in the homilies. Thus No. 27 objects to "the confoundinge of our Sunday with the Jewes Sabaoth," No. 33 points out the inconsistency of the homilies against idolatry with the "glass windows," which persist in spite of the Queen's Injunctions, and No. 34 commends prayer in private houses.]

37. Whether the order that is used in Cathedrall Churches in the administration of Sacraments, being done in Coapes, Tunicles, Vestments, Altar-Clothes, etc., be according to the doctrine of the Church of England, seing the 3rd part of the homilie against Idolatrie saieth that to use such vestments is to make a Christian a Jewe?

[1] No. 75 asks: "Whether it be not unreasonable to appoint the poore mynister to reade an homilie all ready set forth, or here after to be set forth, so many faults being found therin?"

38. Whether the prickesong used in our Churches, full of descant with Organs and such like instruments be not allso against the doctrine set forth in the homilie of the time and place of praier, where it is saied that such thinges displease God greatlie and defile his holie word filthilie?

39. Whether thacknowledging of the Queenes roiall power and authoritie within these her highnes realmes of England and Ireland, and that she is the chief governor next under Christ, do acquite her subjects from acknowledging the authoritie of an Archb., of a L.B., of a Chauncelor, or an Officiall, whose authoritie is directly against her lawfull authoritie?

40. Whether the booke of common prayer according to the preface that is set before it were made still to continue and to be confirmed by subscription as a perfect booke, or to be altered and better[ed], as God should give more knowledge, it being evidently confessed to be taken from thence whence no good thing could come, and being in many things contrary to Gods word, and in the latter ende of the booke they wishinge that the auncient discipline maie be restored?

41. Whether it be not taken from the popish portuise?

42. Whether the Scriptures be not appointed barelie to be read, without interpretation and application?

43. Whether they be not mangled and parted into pistles, gospells, lessons, half lessons, and half chapters, and even as it was taken out of the portuise? [Examples are given.]

44. Whether, as in the portuise, thei doe not give these names improperlie (e.g. Collects, Mattens, Advent, Good-friday, Christmasse, Candlemasse etc.)?

45. Whether the length of it do not hinder preching?

46. Whether it do not maintaine the vice of much babling and often repetition forbidden by our Saviour Christe Matt. 6?

47. Whether the tying of the mynister so streightlie to the whole service do not make the people thinke that of the worke wrought, this meriteth and is a good service to God, maintayning an unlearned mynisterie and hindering preaching?

48. Whether it be not an unseemlie gesture that the mynister in saying the service should so poste up and downe from place to place? [Examples given.]

49. Whether thei do not manifestlie wrest and abuse many places of the Scripture by false and intollerable interpretations? [Examples given.]

50. Whether men maie make holie worky daies, that is, appoint a service for them, viz., for the Conversion of Paule, for Ashe Wednesday etc.?

51. Whether men ought to myngle the Apocryphall writings of men with Gods worde; as in order of prayer to put in Te Deum, Benedicite, Athanasius Creede etc.?

52. Whether they maye praye for temporall things without condition, as is done thorow out the booke?

53[1]. Whether the place be fit appointed for the mynister to stand in, which is the Chauncell with the backe...toward the people?

54. Whether it be meete that Chauncells should remaine as in the popish Churches, being popish and Judaicall, making a division betwene the priest and people?

55. Whether it be meete and comely for a mynister of God to be bound to the use of a surplesse, a Coape, an Albe, and a tunicle, for these are the ornaments mentioned, whensoever he shall say service?

[Nos. 56–62 state faults in the Order for morning prayer, and Nos. 63–72 in that for evening prayer, e.g.

68. Whether the prayer used against the B. of Rome in the daies of K. Edward of blessed memory, being now left out, do not plainly declare that we go not forward as we ought to do in the religion and truth of God?

70. Whether it be not uncircumspect to pray God to have mercie upon all men without limitation, so thei pray in the 3rd collect, to be delivered from all daungers; so for the unity and concord of all nations, be thei friendes or enemies, likewise prayer is made for all infidells and heretiques?

Nos. 73–82 deal with the Order of the Communion, and the usual questions are asked about kneeling, the use of wafer or common bread, and the due examination of those presenting themselves.

Nos. 83–91 are concerned with Baptism. They speak of the necessity of all administrations of the sacraments being public, of "the wicked opynion of the meere necessity of baptism," and of the font, the sign of the cross, and godparents.

Nos. 92–3 protest against the "shamefull abuse" of private baptism and claim that the rubric, "If thou be not baptized allready, I baptize thee &c." savours of Anabaptism in that it appoints a "conditional baptizing."

Nos. 94–100 concern Confirmation, e.g.

94. Whether it be not daungerous that any such confirmation should bee used? Seing it bringeth men into doubt that former baptisme is not sufficient. And thogh it seeme to be excused in wordes in the end of the Rubricke, yet whether the deede give not a vehement superstition therof, both because it is tyed to the B. alone or his suffragane as to the more worthy person, and for that it ratifieth that old Romish superstition, that by the imposition of the handes of the B. and his prayer, strength and defence is given against all tentations and assaults of the world, the flesh, and the Divell?

Every poore hedge preest, yea, a deacon, which [is] a degree under, may mynister Baptisme, but onelie the Bishop or his Suffragane must confirme; whether this continue not that absurd opynion

[1] From this point, references to the pages and rubrics of the Prayer Book are given.

of the papists that Confirmation is a sacrament, yea, a greater sacrament than Baptisme that must be mynistered by those great ones?

Nos. 101–110 deal with various parts of the Prayer Book, the forms of service for marriage, burial, and churching all being criticised. The general objection is that they are "taken out of the Portuise," but particular grievances mentioned are the use of the ring in marriage and private communion[1]. Concerning the burial service the question is asked: "Whether it be not absurd, whensoever the mynister burieth Protestant, Papist, or Atheist, Heretique, Usurer, or Whoremonger, good or badde, to say that he is his brother, as the booke appointeth, and that he committeth him to the grounde...in sure and certaine hope of resurrection to eternall life?"

The final question (111) is a summary:

Whether these thinges and the like founde in the articles, homilies, and booke of Common prayer be not of sufficiente waighte to staye men from alowing the same simplie, howsoever thei have and do tollerate these things, till God of his singular mercie shall worke the reformation therof?]

125. [1584?] "That the Subscription urged by the Archb. of Canterburie is warrantable by no lawe."

"Beeing to intreate of the Archbishops authoritie, which first was founded by the Cannon Law, and after received warrant and confirmation by the Statuts of this Relme, we are to see how farre it extendeth by them both, and whether this usurped power be not either repugnant to the one or abridged by the other; for myne owne parte, I thinke both the one and the other, and that moved by these reasons that hereafter folow."

An ancient saying, grounded upon reason and experience—"the thing which equallie belongeth to all men should of all men equallie be allowed"—leads us to conclude that no law can be passed to bind people "which is not agreed upon and established by the free consent of all that must be subject to the same." Especially does this hold in "the affairs of God," and therefore the Archbishop—who does not, like the Pope, claim supreme power—has no right to make a law binding upon the clergy without their consent, and so act "against reason, the mother of all lawes." As the true canon, God's Word, shows (Acts 15)—even the apostles conferred with the elders and the brethren before making a law.

[1] If "private conventicles be worthie of condemnation," much more so is the "mynistring the Sacraments in corners."

Further, the Canon Law itself gives no more power to the Archbishop than such as he possesses in synods and convocations; indeed these assemblies would be of no use "if without them he might determine what he list." If he may demand subscription to his articles, "why may he not also to his owne booke" (which probably he means to do)? If he replies that the former is confirmed by Act of Parliament, I reply that it is tyranny to ask men to subscribe to any law, on pain of loss of living; "I know not whether the Spanish Inquisition do overmatch the same in crueltie." Indeed the Book to which subscription is demanded is not warranted by law, for the Statute of 1559 authorises a book differing in three particulars only from Edward VI's book, while this "differeth...in more then half a score."

Again, if the Archbishop can urge subscription against ministers, why may he not against bishops? Is it because he knows they would refuse to be deprived illegally?

"To conclude, though his power be unchecked and uncontrolled so farre forth as it incounter not the peace of the Church and quietnes of the Realme, yet will this urging of subscription not fall within his compasse, which, forcing manie things jarring with the truth (as hath oftentimes bene shewed, and is at all times readie to be proved) doth therby bring disturbance of the Churches peace and (though the matter were indifferent) thrusting of the best mynisters out of their charges, and therby taking from the people the food of life, breedeth a disquietnes and discontentment of them all."

Turning to the legal side of the question, many statutes are quoted[1].

1. 25 Hen. 8. c. 19. This enacts that no canon or constitution is valid, unless made in Convocation legally assembled, and sanctioned by the King. The King's prerogative being thus secured against the whole ecclesiastical state, much more is it secured against the making of canons &c. by any one person.

2. 25 Hen. 8. c. 20 makes clear that the Archbishop is offending against the royal prerogative. Previously no king even has usurped such power as the Archbishop is arrogating, for they all make their laws "with the free assent of all." This tyranny is intolerable, and is an attack on the royal power "as if in time

[1] Neal, 320, gives a good summary.

it be not looked to, will make the Clergie subjects to an English pope, renouncynge their feaultie and subjection to the King."

3. These statutes were re-enacted in 1559, and all authority was given to the Queen. Thus the Bishops *qua* Bishops, have no power to demand subscription; their only authority is as High Commissioners, representatives of the Queen. And even here their powers are not autocratic, for the Queen, knowing how intolerable was the absolute power of the Pope, did not claim like power, but "bounded" it, in the law establishing the Commission, by the words "so much as lawfully may be exercised." If the Queen would so limit her authority, is it to be thought that she intends the Bishops to have uncontrolled power? And seeing many of the things to which subscription is demanded, are contrary to God's Word,

"it is a flatte oppression contrarie to that statute, upon paine of loss of living and depriving, to impose the same."

The Word of God should settle the matter, and the Queen should allow the Privy Council or Parliament to hear learned men on both sides, and determine the right course.

4. 13 Eliz. c. 12.

(*a*) Parliament, including the Bishops, thought those to be sound in religion who would subscribe the *doctrine* contained in the book of articles. "The suspended ministers" gladly do this, but still the Bishops count them unworthy.

(*b*) Parliament did not think fit to urge subscription to all the articles.

"And therfore do thei insert this particle *onelie*, which worde if it had bene somewhat otherwise placed, as that thei should declare their assent and subscribe onelie to those articles of religion which concerne etc., then had it bene a plaine forbidding of the Archb. to urge it further. Now, though the wordes indeede go not so fullie yet the meaning appeareth as plainlie, that whatsoever mynisters are content to subscribe to the doctrine of faith and sacraments, be worthie of their place, and not to be removed, though in conscience thei can not yield to the residue of the Articles."

126. [.] "My judgemente concerninge subscription to the articles of religion concluded of by the righte reverente my fathers and brethren of the convocation house."

The articles cannot be subscribed because they contain false, imperfect, and doubtful things, and things contrary to the Word of God. A list of "those things I judge to be untrue, with my reasons for the same" follows. This is on the usual Puritan lines, but emphasis is laid on one or two points. The writer "cannot thinke that...the ecclesiasticall authoritie geven to the pastors, teachers, and elders, doeth depende upon maiestrates," and therefore, if necessary, they may take order for the Church by calling general councils or synods, apart from the magistrate, taking care to do this "without rebellion or tumulte."

"Concerninge the 36 article, of the consecration of bishoppes and ministers, I can by no meanes consente unto the same, bothe by cause there ar offices of the Churche ordeyned which ar not founde [in] the Worde of God, as Lorde bishoppes, Arche bishoppes, and such like, and some are lefte out which God hath ordeyned, as elders and doctors, and the offices of some perverted, as deacons: as also by cause that ordination by prayer and laying on of handes of the Eldership, which Gods worde prescribed (1 Tim. 4^{14}, 5^{22}; Acts 6^{6}, 13^{3} etc.) is omitted, and another done only of the bishoppe, with rites and ceremonies fette from popery, without any grounde in the worde of God, is broughte in, all which as it is contrary to the Scriptures..., so is it to the Harmonie of the Confessions of all Christian churches at this daye[1], which shewe that we must alowe only those offices and those ordinations which are founde in the Scripture, and condemneth those affore named."

The "thinges...imperfect...and doubtfull" are next considered, and here, as might be expected, many theological subtleties are discussed, among the problems raised being The Trinity, Christ's Descent into Hell, Original Sin, Predestination, Baptismal Regeneration, and Ceremonies.

127. [.] "A Note of certeine Speciall Corruptions in the Booke of common prayer, unto which the ministers are yet urged by the Byshopps to subscribe, as not repugnant to the Worde of God."

1. "The fourme of it is more agreeable to the popishe churche then to the reformed Churches of the Gospell, bothe in the common course of the Service, as in the Scriptures sett downe here a peece and there a peece, and as in most of the prayers and Collects."

[1] Above, No. 123.

2 "As it mainteyneth a dumbe Ministerie by homylyes, so by reason of the length of it commaunded to be wholly used, it greatly hindereth the preaching Ministerie, and leaveth to Unlearned Ministers the administration of the Sacraments, contrarie to that, that a Byshopp must be apt to teache &c., and, Goe and preache and baptise &c."

3. "It approveth a speciall liturgye for Saints."

4. "All the whole Churche Service must be done in prescript apparell used of the Papists."

5–30. [Various errors in the different forms of service.]

31. "It alloweth a Ministerye per Gradus, a Ministerye in parte and imperfect, to wit, Deacons &c."

128. [1584.] "That Subscription to orders and ordinances in our English Church is not now needfull." By "Robart Byshop[1]."

The pertinent authorities are first quoted, viz.

(*a*) Acts of Parliament—25 Hen. 8. c. 19; 1 Eliz. cc. 1, 2 and 3; 13 Eliz. c. 12; 23 Eliz. c. 1. [The treatise ends with a copy of Clause VIII of the Act of Uniformity (1 Eliz. c. 2).]

(*b*) The Articles of Religion (1562 and 1571) and the Advertisements (1566).

Then follows the conclusion:

"Now seeing that the Q. Ma^ty^ herself, with thadvise of all her H. Councell, Commissioners, and Clergy, besides the body of the whole realme, have heretofore often established all such orders in this our English Church as unto all their wisdomes was thought most meete for the unity of divine doctrine and uniformity in rits and manners concerning the same, and yet without the tying of any mans conscience therto as being all indifferent in themselves and not equall with the eternall worde of God, but onely as temporall orders, serving for the time onely etc., as in the preface to the saide Advertisements it is more at large declared:

There is then no cause now at all in this time of most tranquillitie and unitie of our English Church, confirmed by her Ma^ties^ long continuance therin, to Gods greater glory and the most certaine assurance of the same, to seeke for subscription and suchlike allowances therof as was not at any time before required, when it might have bene thought much more meete, or els to ty any mans conscience nigher and straighter therto then thei were wont to be, seing that thei are onely to serve for the time, as it is aforesaide, and for some part of Ecclesiasticall discipline, decency, and distinction, etc....."

[1] ? *Ath. Cant.* II. 79.

129. [.] "Arguments impugning all forraine power and Usurped authoritie Ecclesiasticall, taken out of the Statute made Anno Primo Elizabethae, capitulo primo, as hereafter enseweth." Robert Bishop.

After a quotation from the Act of Supremacy, sixteen arguments are given, based on the premise that all ecclesiastical authority derived from the Pope is "forraine power," and therefore contrary to the Act. It follows that the names and offices of Bishops and Archdeacons are unlawful, and also those of "Popes Patriarchs, Primates, Provinces, Metropolitans, Dioceses ...." Again, seeing it is an axiom of the Canon Law that all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is the Pope's only, to give and take at his own will, it follows that the Archbishop of Canterbury, being either the Pope's own legate or else in the person of Pope himself, is the highest authority in ecclesiastical cases, being able to dispense with Prince and people. But this is contrary to the royal prerogative.

"To conclude therfore,...all Ecclesiasticall authoritie and Jurisdiction whatsoever, as to make and establish, to maintaine or to execute, anie Ecclesiasticall lawe or ordinance, and allso all such officers and offices, together with all the usuall fees,...therto...belonging, are now onlie in the power and appointment of the prince and of no other inferior person whatever, without the especiall warrant or graunt of her own Ma^tie^...by her letters patents...."

130. [.] "What and howe farr an Archb. or Bushopp in his ordynarye Jurisdiction maye commaund his Clergie, and what *Canonica obedientia* is, and how farre yt dothe extend and binde the particular persons of his Clergie."

See Neal's summary, 321–2. The purpose of the treatise is to prove that:

1. The Archbishop's articles of 1583 are illegal.

2. "The clergie are no more to be called the Archb. or B. children, but they are to be accounted the Queenes liege people."

131. [.] "A Dossen points in controversie of great wayght which can not with a good conscyence be subscribed unto."

I. "Out of the communion Booke."

1. Human writings are preferred to Divine, for Apocryphal writings are said to be more edifying than parts of the Scriptures.

2. Baptism can be administered privately; the Bible makes it public with preaching.

3. The statement that baptized persons have all things necessary to salvation savours of the Popish opinion that the Sacraments give grace.

4. The Cross in Baptism is given the same significance as the rite itself.

II. "Out of the boke of orderinge Ministers."

1. The function of a deacon is not that described in the Word.

2. It is contrary to the Scriptures for Archdeacons alone to examine ministers.

3. "Nothinge ys required in a mynister (that shalbe admitted to cure of soules), but honestie of lyff, profession of the trewe Doctryne conteyned in the booke of Articles, and habylitie to render accompt of his fayth in laten."

But St Paul says a minister must be apt to teach and able to govern the church, i.e., to have the gifts of utterance and wisdom.

4. Archdeacons, Commissaries, Officialls, &c. are appointed to perform ecclesiastical functions,—to set tasks to ministers, punish offences, &c. This brings tyranny into the Church, and puts God's rules below man's, making labouring ministers into servants "to the mans man of our busshops suffragan." It also takes away "the hollye companye of presbiters and elders" established by God for the perpetual government of the Church, and thus leaves that government "topsi turvie."

5. Penance is sometimes made a pecuniary mulct. This is like the sin of Simon Magus.

6. It is wrong for a bishop to have the power of excommunication.

7. The Word of God institutes no other ministers than Pastors and Doctors, over a particular congregation. Christ taught the equality of ministers, and superior ministers, ruling over dioceses, have no ground in His Word.

8. "That Archbusshops are lawfull. If there maye a more Substanciall reason be yelded whye there shold be an Archbushopp over a whole provynce then a pope over the whole churche, Wee will confesse (which God forbydde) our Savyour Christs difference to be none."

132. [1584?] "M^r^ Fennes[1] general reasons of not subscribeinge to the articles."

This is a discussion between Fenne and the Archbishop of Canterbury concerning the legality of the demand for subscription. Brook (I. 445–6) prints the conversation in full, and almost verbatim.

133. [.] "Exceptions concerninge the book of common prayer whereto the ministers are required to subscribe, delivered to the L. treasurer."

These twelve "exceptions" are the usual Puritan objections to the ceremonies and apparel, the private celebration of the Sacraments, the reading of the Apocrypha, &c. Nos. 1 and 7 read:

1. "It inableth a minister not able to preche for to baptise, to minister the Communion, to do every worke of the ministerye contrary to the expresse worde of God, and the judgement of all other churches, as appeareth in the harmony of their confessions and practise."

7. "It maketh a B. of a diverse kinde and order of ministery, and alloweth their present estate and jurisdiction."

134. [1583.] "An humble sute to her Ma^tie^."

Beseeching the Queen to

"make staie of the Archb. proceedings, wherby is like to ensue great trouble unto the whole land and desolation to divers particular Churches, which by this meane shall be deprived of their pastors and teachers."

The suppliants point out that there is already a great scarcity of faithful preachers, and "yf this subscription be urged as it is begun, thei are like to be thrust all out of their places," to the damage of many souls, the danger of the kingdom, and the dishonour of God. They trust the Queen will grant their request, because they have behaved themselves quietly in their ministry, acknowledged her supremacy, and confessed

[1] For Humphrey Fenn (or Fenne) see *Ath. Cant.* II. 150, 546.

the doctrine[1] of faith and sacraments, according to the Statute. They have also used the Book of Common Prayer in their churches, and allowed others to use it, despite the faults in it and in the discipline of the Church. For these things they have neither separated from the Church, nor disturbed its peace.

135. 1583. "A Breife and true reporte of the proceedinges againste some of the ministers and prechers of the diocese of Chichester for refusinge to subscribe to certaine articles."

The see being vacant, the jurisdiction was divided between D^r^ Langworth (Archdeaconry of Lewes), and D^r^ Worlie (Archdeaconry of Chichester).

In Nov. 1583[2], the Archbishop ordered these officers to require all ministers to subscribe to the three articles, and to send him a list of the clergy "within ther precincts." This they did "with much speede and more severitie," and in consequence there was great trouble, first at Lewes, then before the Archbishop and High Commission. Langworth at once summoned[3] the clergy of Lewes and "Pemsy" to appear before him on Nov. 19^th^. "A great meetinge of many of the prechers and ministers" resulted, and when subscription was demanded the majority complied "without much adoe...,"

"and only M^r^ Norden, M^r^ Underdowne, M^r^ Stace, M^r^ Jackson, M^r^ Clarke, M^r^ Bingham, M^r^ Turner, Savidge, and some others, required further respite to consider of the 2^nd^ article, because in it were many braunches and diverse things which oughte not lightlye to be passed over or subscribed unto."

Langworth requested either "a simple subscription or a flatt refusall," but the ministers signed in the form: "T.U. subscribit primo et tertio articulis, de secundo deliberatione petit." This form of subscription displeased Langworth, and he

[1] "these articles being taken in the best sense as is meete and convenient, and as other churches have observed in their confessions."

[2] The document's date—Nov. 24^th^—is evidently a mistake (see 19^th^, 20^th^, &c., below). Perhaps it should be 14^th^.

[3] The summons is given in Brook, I. 264.

immediately gave the "recusants[1]...three admonitions," in spite of Underdowne's protest that such action was *ultra vires*.

On the Registrar (Hugo Treves) asking "if he should make out suspensions," Langworth said he would proceed no further for the present,

> "and added further sarcastice speach to this effect—The queene and hir councell, tharchb. and other bb. of the relme, both the universities and all the learned of the land thinke this necessarye to be done for uniformitie and consent, and here cometh in M^r^ Bingham, without any degree, and a few other, and make doubte of the matter and refuse to subscribe."

At the end of the session Underdowne spoke "familiarly" with Langworth, and told him that he had dealt harshly with the ministers, and had behaved illegally in giving the three admonitions so hastily. Langworth replied that he had been very lenient, for while D^r^ Worley[2] intended to suspend all the recusants in the Chichester Archdeaconry, he himself intended to proceed no further; if the Archbishop should be dissatisfied with the form of subscription, he must deal with the ministers himself.

On the 20^th^ Langworth went to "Hastinge to speed his commission" in the other three deaneries, and found "M^r^ Hely, Pastor of Warbleton and M^r^ Bell of Dallington" to be recusants. On the 21^st^ at Rye, he declared that all the recusants should be suspended—though he now denies this—and on the 22^nd^ suspensions were issued. When these were executed, Langworth was at Canterbury, where he had a Prebend, and therefore the suspended ministers made suit to the Archbishop, Hely, Norden, Underdowne, and Bingham from Lewes, and German, Whitaker, and Hopson from Chichester going to London. Underdowne, Norden, and Hely were sent as a deputation to Whitgift, and in the "lardge speach" they had with him on Dec. 5^th^, they found he justified and approved Langworth's action, and intended to "proceed further" unless they subscribed. The conversation continues:

[1] The application of the term "recusants" to the Puritans is interesting. Generally it refers to Roman Catholic non-conformists only.

[2] The spelling varies.

Underdowne: Wee have, my L., subscribed to the first and third articles, but require respite for the second. And though wee have used the sume of the booke of common prayer as much as concerned our ministrie, yet can wee not in conscience subscribe to every particulare in that booke.

Canterbury. Will you use that wherunto you will not subscribe, that were to dissemble? What respite would you have after 25 yeres exercise?

U. Every thinge in the seid booke perteineth not to our ministrie, and some thing also in the same is lefte at libertie, whereunto our subscription tyeth us to give our full consent, and so to abridge ourselves of the libertie which the booke leaveth us in.

C. What is it that you mislike in the boke of common prayer?

U. We saye not *mislike*, my L., but there are many things doubtefull whereof we are not yet resolved.

C. I meane not to intrappe you in your wordes, I would not have you thinke so of me, but what be the pointes ye doubte of, and would be resolved in? I will endevour my self to satisfie you if you wilbe satisfied. And you know that I have as good cause as anye to be skilfull in the booke, because I have taken upon me the defence of it.

U. We know that well, my L. First we desire to knowe what booke your L. meaneth we shoulde subscribe unto, for there are many copies, and such as differ in many pointes of good weight, and every one, as he hath bene later printed, declineth more to superstition.

C. I meane the booke now used in the church of Englande for divine service and administration of the sacraments.

U. We take this booke, my L., under correction, not to be the booke published by lawe, anno primo of this Queene, but differeth in mo points from the booke of 5° Edwardi 6 then the statutes and lawes of the lande allowed. The booke by law established is the booke explaned 5° Edw. 6th, with onlye 3 additions or altirations viz.

1. of a table for the first lessons of every Sonday in the yere.
2. the forme of the letanie altered and corrected.
3. and too [*sic* two] sentences only added in delivery of the sacramt, and none other nor otherwise.

C. And what other differences are there which you speak of?

U. Differences amonge others are these, the Kalendars are not the same, the first lessons are appointed to all the Sts. dayes in the yere, and that out of the Apocrypha: in this booke the Kalendar appointeth the Saints Eves to be fasted, it putteth in the popishe saints, and so retaineth an opinion of holines in them. Yt prescribeth the number of holidayes otherwise (leaving out the conversion of Paule), and omitteth a necessarie advertisement out of the rubrick after the communion for avoydinge the daunger of adoration in kneelinge at the communion.

C. The Kalendars are not of the substance of the booke.

U. They are a principall part of the book, and have a chiefe

interest in the directions therof. And the statute calleth it a part also, primo Elizab.

C. The saints eves were to be fasted by lawe in Kinge Edwards time, and here sett downe for ease of the curats. And the popish saints are not put in the Kallendars to norish any superstition as you saye, but to express the usuall tymes of payments, and the tymes of the courts and their returnes in both lawes. And these are ceremonies which the queenes ma^tie^, with the counsel of the metropolitaine, hath authoritie by lawe to alter, and this booke maye be altered, and your subscription is not further required to yt then as it is, not as it shalbe. And for the rubricke of kneelinge lefte out, it is now not necessarye, for all the world knoweth that the church of England kneeleth not to adore the Sacrament, but for comlines. The gesture in receivinge is indifferent, standinge, sittinge, or kneelinge, but this is thought most meet for us.

U. The rubricke is of more importaunce then your L. maketh it; yt taketh awaye a notable offence, which beinge left out is now at libertie, and the often contentions about sittinge and kneelinge in this churche sheweth how necessarye it is, and some of our knowledges also moveth us to speake somewhat of yt.

C. This and all other superstition you oughte to take awaye by prechinge, and if there be any fault in this behalf you and such other prechers are to blame for yt. But what other doubts are there wherof you would be resolved?

The question of reading the Apocrypha—which Underdowne says contains "grosse errors"—is then discussed, and here the Archbishop says:

"I make more reckoninge of the auncient fathers a great deal then I do of these later writers. And I am sure I have read as much of both old and new as any man of my time."

Asked if there are other reasons for their refusal to subscribe, Underdowne answers:

U. Yea, my lorde, manye, whereof this is one. In the rubricke before morning prayer, the minister for apparell is directed to the second yere of Edw. 6; [this] is altered by advertisements and injunctions; yf wee subscribe unto the booke we subscribe unto the massinge apparell, as cope, albe, vestments, tunicle etc.

C. Naye, whatsoever you be discharged of by any article or injunction it is not meant you should subscribe unto yt in the booke.

U. But who shall interprett our subscriptions, my L., how farr they shall extend?

C. That shall my self and other bishoppes who knowe best what is meant by the article, and have with good advise penned the same.

U. Therefore, my L., wee dare not simplie subscribe without protestation.

C. I will allow no protestation. And you are not called to rule in this church of England (but in your severall charges), nether shall you rule, but obey. And except you subscribe, you shall have no places in the ministrie.

To the objection that it is wrong to subscribe unknown things, such as Homilies to be set forth in the future, Whitgift replies that there need be no suspicion of these.

Then Underdowne claiming that "private baptisme, baptisme by women, or laymen" is "flatly contrary to the worde of God," "a longe discourse of the necessitie of baptisme" follows.

U. We acknowledge, my L., the necessitie of Baptisme, and that he that ministreth doth not make the sacrament the better, yett is it necessary that he be a minister of the worde that doth minister. And for Calvins similitude, will your L. saye that Callvine thought it lawfull for women to baptise?

C. I saye not so, but whosoever saith it is of the substance of the sacraments that he be a minister that baptiseth, I will proceede againste him as an heretique. I say, moreover, yt is not lawfull for women to baptise, but if they do, it is not to be reiterated, els had wee need of some generall rebaptization.

The Archbishop doubts whether a person can have salvation if he has not been baptised—the seal of salvation—and the question is raised as to whether baptism performed in jest, say by "a turk" is efficacious. Whitgift says that the Book's teaching on private baptism has been misunderstood and tells the ministers that they should remove superstition on the point by their preaching, while Underdowne points out that the practice "was condemned in the wholl convocation when your L. was proloqutor[1]."

The Archbishop denies that private communion is "a remembraunce of the popish howsell," and points out that the Book does not compel, but simply allows, its use.

U. But we subscribe unto yt as a convenient order in the booke simplye. We have many other things, but we perceave that wee are tedious to your L. There be in towne many more of us, that be suspended likewise, who do attend your L. pleasure, and have sent us to know the same.

C. Whie did they not all come? I would have endevored to satisfie them; you seeme to be sober and discreet men, I would not wishe you to depend upon any vaine estimation of men, but be ruled,

[1] I.e. 1572 (Wilkins, iv. 272).

and enjoye your places, which without this subscription you shall not hold.

U. If our ministries have bene profitable we thanke God for yt, and we be well contented to keepe our places, yea, it is the thinge that we desire, so that the peace of our consciences maye be provided for.

Hely. In respect of the world we have good cause so to do, my L., for we have wives and children, and no other maintenance. And therefore if with the peace of our consciences we maye do yt, it is the thinge that we desire. But, my L., if we subscribe to the booke, do we not subscribe to the translation of the bible which that booke appointeth to be read? And that translation is faultie in many places, yea, and very corrupt....

C. If any other of your companie desire to be satisfied in any pointe, let them repaire unto me this afternoone...; but if you come altogether, come not before to morow morninge.

So we tooke our leave for that tyme. And, as we were goinge out, tharchbishop commaundeth M^r^ Hartwell to take a remembrance of our names, degrees in schoole, and of the universitie in which we studied. The next morninge, beinge Fridaye, repaired to Lambeth with the three before named, M^r^ Hopkinson, minister of Salehurst, M^r^ Bingham, M^r^ German of Bursham, M^r^ Whitaker of Amberlighe, and M^r^ Hopson of Lemister. And beinge brought into a faire chamber matted, where was a good fire of coles, at a table satt the L. archb. of Cant., the BB. of Lond., of Sarum, and of Rochester, and the deane of Westminster. As sone as we were come in, tharchbishop began to find fault with a report which he said was brought unto him to this effect.

C. There have bene diverse of my good frends with me of late out of the cytie, and have told me there is a reporte all the citie over that upon complainte of certaine ministers of Sussex, I should be sent for to the courte, and there charged not to proceede with these articles. And they were desireous to knowe whether it were so or not. I marvailed greatly of it, and if I knew who made the reporte I would make him an example, and if any of you did it you were to blame. When came you to London?...

London. Your L. must not be moved with such reports, we are here well acquainted with the like.

C. Indeed I was sent for to the court on Sundaye last, but not for that matter, and I was used there of hir ma^tie^ and their honours better then I deserved, and to the end you maye understande it the better, you shall heare councells letter to me.

This having been read, the Archbishop says that scarcely a word about the articles was spoken at Court, and he is determined "to performe that which he has taken in hand to the uttermost."

Hopkinson. We cannot, my L., subscribe simplie without

protestation, nether have thorowly perused every particulare in such sort that we can subscribe unto it, therefore we desire respite in this behalf.

London. What respite would you have after five and twenty yeres use of the booke? If you be not skilfull in it by this tyme, yt seemeth you have not used it very carefully?

H. There be manye things in the booke which do not belonge unto us. And so as concerneth our ministrie, wee do performe without just blame, only we require favour for this subscription.

C. I would never do that which I would not subscribe unto. And either you shall subscribe, or els you shall not enjoye any place in this ministerie. And because you are the first that have bene thus farr proceeded againste in this case, you shalbe made an example to all others in this busines.

H. A man maye in obedience do some things which the superior oughte not to enjoyne, nor he that doth it to approve. And if your L. will deale thus hardly with us, I see not but we must yeld our places.

C. If you do, I can furnishe them with as sufficient men as you, and yet conformable.

Rochester. There were some which lost their liveinges about 16 or 17 yeres agoe for these causes and the like, that have repented since, and are yet without. And there be many learned men which lacke, and looke for liveinges to furnishe these.

C. You of Sussex have bene accompted very disordered and contentious, and hir ma^tie^ hath bene enformed of you, and I mean to proceed streightely in this pointe.

U. My L., the ministers of Sussex have bene as well ordered as of any diocesse in the realme besides, until one H. Shales came in amongst them, and broched certaine points of poperie and heresie. And this hath bene the cause of all the troubles of that diocesse.

C. It were wonder if you should not be quiett when every one of you did what him list without controlement. The divell wilbe quiet so longe. But whie do none of you accuse the man? And you shall see how I will deale with him.

Discussing "points of poperie" Hopkinson says that the ministers' substitute for holy-days is preaching on market days when the people are gathered together, so that they can return to their labour after the service. This is better than the old law of holy-days, which said that "men that worke on them in tyme of need are presentable and punishable, as we have seene of late practise."

C. Well, I see whence you have the most of your doubtes; yonge men and unlearned have done more harme in translateinge then ever they will do good; it had bene good they had not bene borne. And for M^r^ Cartwrite and my self, we mighte both have

bene better occupied, especially the man that first began, yet of my self I doubt, because I have defended the booke which so manye martyrs have sealed with their bloude. But since this diversitie hath bene in the church, religion hath gon backwarde, and popery hath so encreased that now it seemeth it will not be satisfied but by the Princes bloude, whom God longe preserve. It hath bene reported that I should repent me of my workes against M^r^ Cartwrighte, but I protest I do it not, nor never will, yet I love the man, and if he would returne and live in the peace of the church, he should not find a better frend than my self. But this strife amongst ourselves doth drive men from us, even to popery. And the temple service[1], my Lord, (speakinge to the B. of London), is much spoken of, and hath bene objected to me in Worcester[2].

The Bishop of London having admitted the irregularities at The Temple, the ministers claim that the rubric prefixed to the confirmation service implies that baptism is sufficient for salvation.

The Archbishop admits this, but urges that the aim of the rubric is to rule out the Popish view that confirmation is necessary to salvation. Hely replies that if the rubric can be read in two ways, it is not to be subscribed without careful consideration. D^r^ Goodman marvels why the ministers refuse subscription to the second article, seeing everything it contains is implied in the third, to which Underdowne retorts that if this is the case, the Archbishop should be satisfied, for all the ministers have subscribed the third. The law requires subscription to the Articles of Religion, but not to the Books of Common Prayer, Ordering, and Homilies.

The Bishop of London claims that as judges are best fitted to decide questions of law, so bishops are best qualified to resolve doubts in questions of religion.

Discussing the words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost" at

[1] Walter Travers had been appointed afternoon lecturer in 1581.

[2] Brook [I. 264 ff.] is perhaps at his best in his account of this conference. He gives very full extracts from the Transcript, and generally these are fairly accurate, but his paraphrase of this speech of Whitgift so well illustrates his method as to deserve quotation. It reads:

"I see whence you have most of your doubts. M^r^ Cartwright and I might have bene better employed, especially he, who began the contest."

To this the note is added:

"This statement is incorrect. M^r^ Cartwright did not begin the contest; but Whitgift himself engaged first in the controversy. See Art. Cartwright."!

ordination, some of the Bishops admit that it is impossible for any man to give the Holy Ghost. Rochester attempts to persuade Underdowne that *something* is given, only to get the reply:

U. I thinke not, my L., for men returne no better furnished from you then they came unto you, for ought that I can see or the practize doth speake.

C. You see, my LL., how many doubts these men have, and some suche indeed as I never heard of before. And if we call other out of Norfolke, they will as many doubtes, and not these. And if we have as many out of Northamptonshire, they will other, and such as differ from both these.

You are unlearned, and but boyes in comparison of us, who have studied divinity before you for the most were borne.

U. We acknowledge our youth, my L., nether make we any accompt to have an opinion of learneinge; we hold ourselves sufficiently learned if we know and can teach Christe Jesus syncerely, accordinge to his worde and the plainenes of it.

Seeing that the meaning of some phrases of the Book is so dubious, Hely asks that a protestation might be added to the subscription, but the Archbishop replies:

C. I will admitt no protestations. And we mett not at this time about you, but we are glad to do you good, if we maye, and to spend this time upon you. Consider of the matter, perhaps you are ashamed to subscribe before us all, come to me to morrow apart if you will, but you can never do yt in better tyme. Here be so manye of us togeather that you maye be sure your subscriptions shall not be urged otherwise then you meant them, because we are all witnesses of them.

Goodman. Come on, M^{r} Hopkinson, subscribe; my L. will favour you much and beare you out against all your adversaryes.

H. We must be better advised, M^{r} Dean, and my L. hath now given us respite, and is now straighted of time because of other business.

C. Goe your wayes, and walke in the garden, or consider elswhere of this matter, and returne againe.

Thus they departed out of the house and crossed the water to Westminster, and in ferryinge resolved upon this, that seeing the archbish. would needs have them subscribe simplie, and they would yeld as farr as they mighte, that if the archbishopp and the rest would graunt them protestation and make an acte of it, and therin limitt their subscription, and decree them a copy of it, that then they would subscribe, otherwise they would not subscribe in anywise. And to this effect were M^{r} Norden and M^{r} Hopkinson sent back to make this offer, the rest stayde in Westminster church to expect thevent hereof. When this offer was made, it was well

liked of all the bb. save Rochester, who would nether have granted protestation in acte, nor in any wise a copy of yt. And tharchb. willed them to penn the act themselves, which done, viewed, and perused by them, at length they agreed upon this, which, though it be shorter then we meant beinge togeather, yet when it was done we agreed unto it, and so unto some inconveniences for the peace of the church.

[1]The protestation states that

"their subscription was not required to any other sence then such as was not againste the worde of God and agreeable to the substaunce of religion now professed in this church of England and by lawe established, and accordinge to the analogie of faith, and that their subscription is not required to any thinge not expressed in the seid booke, and therupon they did voluntarily subscribe."

The rest of the ministers found this form satisfactory, especially seeing it did not mention the Book of Ordering, and therefore they subscribed. Before the actual subscription, however, "to avoid all cavillinge afterwards," Underdowne protested that

"the booke [of Ordering] pertained not to them, that it was rare to

[1] From this point there are two parallel accounts, the one from the Puritans given in the text, and the other [Transcript, 323–5; II. 85] from the Bishops. The latter is printed by Strype [W. I. 256 ff.] from the Archbishop's Register. It begins with the "protestation" given above, dated Dec. 6th, 1583, and then reads:

"Points stoode upon by the ministers of Sussex concerninge the booke of Common Prayer and consecrateinge of BB. Whereupon their protestation was inacted before there subscription.

The difference of Calenders.
The Apocrypha writeinges read in the church, and the Canonicall left out.
The crosse in Baptisme and private Baptisme.
Private communion in visitation of the sicke.
Salvation attributed to baptisme in Confirmation.
Questions in Bapt. to the witnesses in the childes name.
Holidayes and the eves of Saints feasts.
Homelies to be written.
Some things in homilies already written.
Apparell of ministers by K. Ed. book.
Diversities of translations.
Imposition of hands with, receave the holy Ghoste.

Wm. Hopkinson, Samuel Norden, Anto. Hopson, Tho. Underdowne, John German, Rich. Witacre, Jo. Bingham, Tho. Helies."

After stating the episcopal position on some of the points raised, the account concludes:

"Upon these answers given to them by us they did voluntarily and without any protestation at all subscribe to three Articles sett downe for all prechers to subscribe to."

be gotten, and some copies that they had sene were unperfect, that they would not subscribe unto that. Only so much as the booke of articles required they acknowledged, the ministerye of England made by that booke to be a lawfull ministerye, though perhaps there mighte be errors in that form."

Discussion then follows on the cross in baptism, godfathers, homilies and doubtful rubrics.

C. For the baptisme of women, I would have you preche againste it, and that you maye do it the better you shall have my Licence.

Sarum. That wilbe well done, my L. I praye you lett it be so; they seeme to be sufficient men.

U. There are in our countrye many mo of our brethren suspended for not subscribeinge; we beseech you that they maye have the benefitt of this acte, if they will subscribe thus.

C. I am content.

Roch. Are ther any moe that have refused?

U. Yea, my L., there are above twentie in all.

Lond. Are ther so manye in your countrie?

C. D^r^ Aubrye, write your Letters to those that have Jurisdiction in Chichester diocesse, that they also be released of their suspensions according to this meaneinge. And to that end send them downe a copy of the acte....

German. There are in the countrie some that have subscribed which since are greatly troubled in mynde. What doth your Lordsh. thinke best to be done with them?

C. Let them repaire to mee and I hope I shall satisfie them.

D^r^ Aubrey's letter[1] (Dec. 7^th^) to D^rs^ Langworth and Worley follows, instructing them to release the ministers from their suspensions, since they have

"conformed themselves to his graces good contentment, as maye appeare unto you by the schedule herein inclosed, the originall wherof every of them has subscribed with his owne hand."

On the following day Hopkinson and Underdowne called for the licences, only to find that the Archbishop had "stayed them." He said:

C. It hath bene signified unto me from the courte by a very honourable frende of mine, that there is a report given there that you have subscribed by protestation, and that it is very ill taken. And indeed, you have no protestation, but I have allowed you a declaration how farr your subscription shall extend. And therfore you were too quicke in that reporte. I have graunted you this as well for the discharge of mine owne conscience as yours. I would

[1] In S.W. I. 259.

not for five such Bishopricks urge you to any unlawfull thinge, or contrarie to the worde of God; for you, Mr Hopkinson I can answere that you were with me, but where were *you* yesterdaye?

U. I was indeed at the court, my L., to speake with a very hon. personage, but I assure your L. I spake no worde of any protestation granted us. Nether did I know at that tyme how we should speed with you, but looked for very harde dealinge at your L. hande. And since that tyme I can likewise assure your L. there hath not any of our companie spoken with any such.

C. I have stayed your licences that I may be enformed of the sufficientye of the men. For I purpose, God willing, to make better choise of men hereafter to be licensed....

Att their returne home they came all into the open courte at Lewes, the xith of December. And upon view of D. Awberyes letters and the act of their subscription, ther was an act made of release of their suspensions. And this end had that busines.

Note. One thinge yet seemeth not to be forgotten, and it is well worthie of consideration, that men maye see with what zeal D. Langworth...was caryed to thexecution of this trust committed unto him by tharchbishopp. Mr Clarke, vicare of Langhton, an honest and sufficient man, subscribed to this effect—Wilhelmus Clark subscribit articulis, nisi 9th, non credat baptismum per mulierculam celebrandum.

And he was suspended with the rest. And could not be released, his subscription standinge so; but when he required the benefite of the acte of the vith of decemb., the doctor in some choler answered, I cannot denye you that, if my L. tharchb. be contented with it, I must be contented also.

136. [.] "Sussex."

"Articles given in charge to the Churchwardens and sidemen in the diocesse of Chichester in the visitation holden at Lewes."

1. Whether there be any preachinge, readinge, catechiseinge, or other such like exercise in private places and families whereunto others do resorte beinge not of the same familie.

2. Whether any preach, read, or catechise in the church or else do not 4 times in the yere at the least saye service and minister the sacraments accordinge to the booke of common prayer.

3. Whether the preachers or others within do not at all tymes use the surplice and such kinde of apparell as is prescribed in the booke of advertisements and her maties injunctions anno primo.

4. That every minister in his church the firste Sundaye of every moneth give warneinge openly in the church to such as be of his parishe, of what estate so ever he be, to repayre to the church in such sort as by the lawes of the realme is appointed.

5. The fifte concerneth cominge to church.

6. Whether the bible used in the parishe church or chappell bee of the same translation that is allowed by the Bishops.

137. [1584.] Stephen Turner.

1. An extract, apparently from the records of the Chichester diocese. It is in abbreviated Latin, and bears the attestation, "Concordat cum originali ut ipsemet testor.

Jo. Feilde."

The extract tells how Stephen Turner, against whom the first canonical admonition for non-subscription had already been issued, appeared before D^r^ John Langworth "in villa lewin" on July 27^th^ [ ][1], the Chichester diocese being vacant. Asked to subscribe the articles "simpliciter," he offered to do so in regard to the first and third, but refused to subscribe to the second, because the Prayer Book contained many things contrary to the Word of God. Persisting in his refusal, and declining to promise to use the Prayer Book in every point, he was suspended and his vicarage sequestered.

2. A copy of Turner's own statement.

"These maye be to certifie unto your H. Hs. that I, Stephen Turner, minister of the church at Arlington in Sussex, have bene suspended from my charge this yere and a quarter for refuseinge simply to subscribe, no other matter beinge objected againste me.

written by me, Stephen Turner."

138. 1584. "The ministers of London, their subscription. 13 februar. 1583."

The persons underwritten do subscribe in this sorte,...

1. ...they do acknowledge her ma^tie^ to be supreame governor of the churche of England over all persons, in manner and forme, as the first article is ministred unto us.

2. For the booke of common prayer, we are content to use yt, for the peace of the church, or if we be founde offendinge in any parte therof to submitt ourselves to the penalty of yt.

3. ...we do consent wholly to the booke of Articles agreed upon by the ArchB. and Bbs. for so much as concerneth faith and sacraments therin.

William Davies	Arthur Brighte	William Arritage
George Closse	Jonas Jardfeild	Hughe Smithe
John Halton	Christopher Blithman	Rych. Procter
William Wells	Thomas Hale	John Brawlarde
Thomas White	Francis Scarlet	Rych. [2].

[1] No year given.

[2] Surname missing.

139. [.] (1) "Of the Mynisters of London."

"W.[1] it be not contrarye to the Word of God that the B. and M.[2] shold be made Divers as the booke maketh them in allowinge the B. only to minister Confirmacon. W. the office of the Deacon and full minister may be devyded only upon a Diversytie putt betweene the ministery of the Sacraments which can not be devyded. How the Booke may enable a man to be a lawfull minister that can not preach.

Other queries relate to baptism by women, the necessity of baptism to salvation, the use of the sign of the cross, the imposition of hands in confirmation, the reading of the Apocrypha, &c., and finally,

"W. the hyrarcye of Church government of ArchB. and B. be not contrarye to the Woord of God."

(2) "M[r] Caslocke his Doubts."

(*a*) The "Apocrypha books" should not be read in the Churches as Holy Scriptures. (Four reasons for this are given.)

(*b*) There are many "corrupt translations" in the Bible authorised. (Three examples are quoted.)

140. [1584?] "Notes of the Corruptions of these our bookes to which the mynisters are urged to subscribe, as not repugnant to the worde."

"Wheras in the Statute of A°. 13. of her Mat[s] moste gratious and happye raigne it is thought sufficient for mynisters to subscribe to the articles of religion, so farre forth as thei concerne onelie the doctrine of faith and sacraments, the Bb. do notwithstanding urge a simple Subscription contrary to the said Statute, not onelie to all those articles, but allso to the whole booke of Common prayer, to thorder and ceremonies of this Churche, disagreeing in manie and weightie pointes from the puritie of the worde and example of all reformed Churches, as maie appeare:

[The Book maintains an unlearned and insufficient ministry, prescribes the reading of the Apocrypha, makes use of the word 'priest' and ordains degrees in the ministry; it is Popish, ordaining Popish apparel and a Popish confirmation service; it allows the worship of saints, private sacraments, &c. &c. &c.]

"Considering that Preaching, Sacraments, and Church policie be the chief meanes by which Christes kingdome and Churche is built, advaunced, and from time to time conserved in integritie,

[1] = "Whether."

[2] Bishop and Minister.

our humble Suite is, that where as these things be not rightlie here framed, according to the will and word of God, as is by some supposed, the parties and reasons taken out of Gods booke and grounded therupon, maye quietlye bee hearde, speaking with all humblenes and modestie of spirite, either by writing or otherwise as it shall please her Ma^ty^ etc."

[Points for the discussion are then suggested:]

"Pastors and Teachers, Elders and Deacons, are all the Churche Mynisters lefte us nowe by Christe; their Offices, the Qualityes, the order of their entring, the continuall execution of their functions, are set downe in the Scriptures; let these be called back againe, all corruptions and impediments therto as much as may be being removed[1].

Let the admynistration of the sacraments[2], joyned with the preaching of the worde, be simplie and syncerelye admynistred, accordinge to the rule thereof, our Liturgye being examyned accordinge to that touchstone and the example of other apostolique and reformed Churches.

The Church policie[3] now ordered according to the Canon lawe, Decrees, Decretalls &c. The officers and mynisters, wee wote whose, to be examyned by Gods word allso, and for shewes and corruptions Presbiteries and Synodes to be called backe againe, and framed according to the Scriptures...."

141—5. [1583 or 1584.] A Series of Supplications to the Lords of the Council.

1. From the following "Ministers of Norfolk":

Samuell Otes	John Cooke
Richard Woodes	John Buirdsell
Nicholas Ayland	Edmund Byshop
Alexander Stephanson	Robart Linaker
John Greene	Leonard Ranow
Thomas Mellis	Thomas Howis
John Harison	Richard Loupe
Thomas Aldred	Edwin Sharpe
John Morgan	John Barnard
Peter Mawde	Thomas Elwin.

The ministers say:

"That wheras your said Orators...have shewed ourselves in all

[1] A marginal note reads: "Popish priestes. Reading mynisters. Roving preaching. Pastors in name onelye etc."

[2] Marginal note: "Service booke generally—the forme, whence, what? Particularly note the faults."

[3] Marginal note: "Nothing in ours but corruption."

things true, faithfull, and obedient subjects, according to our vocation as well in administration of Gods holie word and sacraments, as in due obedience to all authoritie and higher power, and striving to kepe a good conscience before God and man, we have laboured to preserve the unitie of the Church in all quiet tolleration of rits and ceremonies established: So that we have not mainteined anie division or separation from the same Church in anie respect, but have resisted with all our power such as from time to time have envied the peace therof viz., both papists and other heretiques, and the late schismatiques of the faction of Browne: wherof besides the testimonies of our owne consciences in the sight of God and the fruite of our labors in our severall charges, we doubt not but the whole countrie that knoweth us will witnes with us."

Notwithstanding this, they are commanded by their Ordinary to subscribe to three articles sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury. To the Queen's supremacy they readily subscribe, and also to the third article, "so far as by law we are bound."

To the second article, however, concerning "the full... allowance of everie thing" in the Books of Common Prayer and Ordering, they "could not so readilie yield," although they always spoke reverently of the Books, and used them and none other in their ministry. They refused because the law did not require subscription, and because they had not yet had that resolution of doubts by the Ordinary which the Preface of the Book promised.

"These awnswers nothwithstanding, and without performance of his promise of conference with us, we are proceeded against by Canonicall admonition, and are now in daunger of deprivation, as manie more of our brethren in Norff. are likewise, to our great grief, especiallie for the hurt of our flocks which are so deare unto us. It maie therfore please your Hon. even for the tender mercie of God in Christ, to take pitie upon us and our poore distressed people, whose daunger is now more then in times past by meanes of that late Schisme of Browne, from which we had much adooe to keepe them, even then when by our ministerie there was reasonable plentie of preching, not onelie in our owne parishes, but allso in some neighbour Churches about us, which if thei shall see alltogether wanting and the places supplied with such as can doe litle or nothing, as other places are, we feare the unrulie sort will make that rent in the Church, which we had rather be dead (if God so please) then live to behold. How great decaie allso this dealing will be to learning your wisdomes maie easelie see, considering that it being so much misliked of the people, few will set their sonnes to learning,

and thei which shall be set to it will rather turne their studies anie waie then to serve in the ministrie, when thei see it tied to so hard conditions."

They are already very poor, and deprivation will mean suffering for their wives and children, and they therefore beg the Council to help them.

2. From the gentlemen of Norfolk on behalf of their ministers.

The signatories are Henry Crumwell, William Heidon, Ed. Clere, Natha. Bacon, and John Perton. They point out that they desire the good of the commonwealth through the increase of preaching, and go on to say:

"So it is...that our Countrie being great and populous, we have verie few able prechers to instruct us, amongest which divers are called before the Ordinarie our Bishop, and a subscription tendred them, wherunto because thei yield not, but in some part dissent from the same, they are proceeded against by certaine Canonicall admonitions, and are threatned to be all put from their ministerie and preching, and to be deprived of their livings: and for anie thing that we can learne are like so to be dealt with, if by your hon. good meane thei be not holpen in some convenient time. Sundrie of these prechers which be thus proceeded against, have much laboured against the faction of Browne, and therin have done exceeding great good in our Countrie, so as at this present verie few are noted to be of the same evill opinions."

In addition to their work in their own parishes, the ministers preach in the great towns, and so urge the people to dutiful obedience to God and the Queen. In order that the "countrie" may still derive benefit from "the most godlie exercises" of the threatened ministers, "some mitigation for the urging of subscription" is requested.

3. From 27 ministers of Essex, viz.,

William Dike	Thomas Redrich	Sam Cotesford	Rob. Edmundes
Nich. Colpotts	Giles Whiting	Rich. Illison	Augustin Pigot
Laur. Newman	Ralph Hauden	W^m^. Serdge	Camillus Rusticius
George Gifford	Jeffray Josselin	Edm. Barker	John Hockele
Rich. Rogers	Thomas Upcher	Rich. Blackwell	Tho. Carew
Tho. Chaplein	Roger Oar	Thomas Howell	John Bushop
Arthur Dent	John Witton	Mark Wirsdale.	

The ministers say that though they have done their duty in their respective charges, they

"are in great heavines, some of us being allreadie put to silence, and the rest living in feare, not that we have bene, or can be, as

we hope, charged with false doctrine or slaunderous life, but for that we refuse to subscribe that there is nothing contained in the booke of Common praier and of ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons, contrarie to the word of God."

They have not taken their position through obstinacy, but because their consciences tell them that there are things in the two Books contrary to God's Word, and also because

"by subscribing...we should dissent from other Churches which at this daie professe the Gospell, by allowing some things which thei disalow, and allso from the most exellent instrument of God in these daies, whose writings are put into our hands by publique authoritie[1]."

4. From 21 "pastors and prechers" in Lincolnshire.

Their names are:

Richard Allen	Henry Nelson	John Summerscales
Johannes Daniel	Matth. Thomson	W^m^ Munning
Thomas Fulbeck	Thomas Bradley	John Wintle
Hugh Take (?Tuke)	Joseph Gibson	Humfrid Stravers
Anthony Hunt	James Worship	Rich. Houlsworth
Reinold Grome	John Prier	Rich. Kellet
Tho. Tripler	Charles Bingham	M^r^ Shepheard.

The ministers ask the Council

"to regard the pitifull and wofull estate of our congregations and people..., which being destitute of our ministerie by the meanes of a subscription generallie and strictlie urged now of late by the Bps. officers, do mourne and lament."

Their refusal to subscribe is not due to "arrogancie or singularitie," but to the fact that they are neither permitted to state their doubts concerning subscription, nor receive satisfaction "about divers weightie matters and points in the book of common prayer."

The supplication concludes with the words:

"and that, seing we can be impeached, neither of false doctrine nor contempt of her Ma^ts^ lawes, nor of refusall of the exercising of the booke of Common praier in our charges, nor of breeding contention or sedition in the Church; and againe, that Papists, her Ma^ts^ enemies, with Atheists, to the corrupting of religion in doctrine and manners, do dailie multiplie and increase, we maie be restored to our flocks and people in such sort as with all peace of conscience

[1] Probably the reference is to the *Institutes* of Calvin, but possibly to Bullinger's *Decades*.

we maie go forward with the Ls worke in building up of his house in our several places."

5. From "the ministers of Oxfordshier."

They point out:

"that wheras of late by reason of certaine art. sent downe by the Archbishop of Cant., and now put in execution sede vacante, for that we can not easelie yield to subscribe unto some points as seemeth unto us contrarie to the word of God, others being doubtfull and disputable, such as we dare not alltogether allow because yet we see not anie man hath undertaken the defence therof that hath satisfied us, howsoever we have and do tollerate the same:
and hereupon we have bene and are inhibited, suspended, and sequestred from our charges and living, not onelie to the dishonour of allmightie God, papists, Atheists, Drunkards, leud livers, Idle persons being left at libertie without the Word, but allso the godlie lacking the ordinarie foode of their soules (we being put out, some others leaving their places aforehand, divers diverting their [ ][1] because of these burthens), wherby not onelie thei are in present daunger of falling from that pietie and obedience that is due to God and her Ma^tie^, but allso unlike to be provided for hereafter of such as are meete: that we in the meane time say nothing of the miserable estate of our selves, wives, children, and families."

They agree with the doctrine of the Book of Common Prayer, and do not refuse to use the Book in their churches, and therefore urge that they should be restored,

"especiallie now so manie open enemies breaking forth into cursed attempts against her ma^ts^ person, against religion, and against the law."

146—8. 1584. Letters from and relating to ministers in the Ely diocese.

Mar. 12^th^, 1583/4. 1. To the Archbishop of Canterbury from eleven ministers, viz.,

Robert Garret	Christopher Jackson	— Martin
James Scrobye	Edw. Braine	Matth. Chapman
— Bowter	Richard Webster	Thomas Braine
Henry Dickenson	Arthur Johnson.	

"Wheras two Canonicall Admonitions upon our obedience are allreadie past, and against other, suspension,...for not subscribing to some things we know not and others that we greatlie doubt of, We, having conceived good hope upon our owne knowledge of your L. wonted hatred of sinne and love of true religion and godlines, are bold to offer our humble supplication unto you, as well to shew our

[1] Word missing in MS.

obedience to all superioritie over us in the L., as allso to crave your L. lawfull favour for larger space of time to be graunted us, considering how carefullie we have used our ministerie to the building of the Church, endevoring with all our harts to kepe the good peace therof, which we dailie praie for: wherefore if it please your good L. to deale so gratiouslie with us, as either to free us from all subscription, saving to her Ma^ties^ authoritie and the articles of Christian religion, which lawe requireth, or to give us so long time as divers treatises maie be well perused by us, that either we maie be satisfied in our persuasions to subscribe, or els if there be no remedie, then quietlie to give place to the peace of the Church. In the meane time we judge them not that have subscribed, as we desire not to be judged in this our stayinge."

[.] 2. To the same from John Cuttes, Fr. Hinde, Jo. Hutton, Fitzraff Chamblein, Thomas Wendie, Thomas Chichley, and Anthony Cage, "gentlemen of Cambridgeshier."

This supplication

"in the behalf of divers godlie ministers within this Countie of Cambridge, whose names are set downe in a shedule herewith sent to you[1], concerninge the manner of subscribing to the articles latelie published,"

is sent with confidence to the Archbishop because

"it pleased God once to make your H. a speciall member for a time in this Countrie, wherby as you gave and bestowed a great cause of love, so you reaped much good will."

The gentlemen ask that the ministers should be allowed to continue their good work,

"so much the rather because of the bare livings which some of them have, wherby it is to be feared it will be no easie matter to place sufficient men in their steede."

3. To the Council from seven ministers, viz. Henry Dickenson, Christopher Jackson, Richardus Webster, Arthurus Johnson, Edw. Braine, Matth. Chapman, and John Harrison[2].

"Exhibited to the Council May 24th, 1584."

They protest

"that we have renounced the pope, sworne to her Ma^ts^ most just authoritie etc., and have subscribed to the art. of christian religion, and are readie to do the self same againe, so far as the tenure of the

[1] This is missing.

[2] The first six of these appear in No. 1 above.

othe and those statuts do require. So likewise we have and do detest the Anabaptists, the Familists, and all other heretiques and schismaticall disturbers of the Church: and we have used and doe use, in our dailie ministerie of the Church service the booke of Common praier and none other, neither have in our sermons and Catechizings sought to deprave the orders and ceremonies of the saide booke, or anie Ecclesiasticall government by the same law of this land established."

Now, having been urged to subscribe, they ask the Council to accept "these reasons of our modest refusall."

"Some things seeme to us contrarie, repugnant, or against the word of God, as the allowing of an unlearned ministerie, the reading of the Apocripha, baptisme by private persons, the execution of Church government by one man, and manie things are verie doubtfull as appeareth by the writings of great learned men of divers Churches, and by the dissenting of the learned men of this Realme about them, yea, and by the repugnant resolutions of the reverend father[s] the Bps. themselves, and other learned men under them."

Again, other things do not come within the compass of the pastoral office—in these liberty is desired; others are practised in obedience to the law, but cannot be subscribed (and thus commended to posterity), because they are contrary to God's Word. The ministers, therefore, desire to be freed from subscription, or at least, to be "allowed time to come to a resolute judgment by comparing all with the word." They are neither seditious nor disloyal, and if they are found to have done wrong, they are willing to submit themselves "to the censures of the Church and corrections of the Commonwealth" and to give up their places.

More than the peace of their own consciences, however, they commend

"the miserable plight of the poore people, hungring after the foode of the word, who being bereft of us, are allmost without all hope of having learned and godlie ministers to reside and continue among them. If thei might have better than ourselves we would be glad, but before we came to them thei had none that did carefullie teach them and whollie reside with them: and manie of our livings are meanlie sufficient, and most so verie poore that some of us have spent of our owne and partlie have bene mainteined by our good friends."

Their flocks are free from heresy, but if they lose their

shepherds, they will soon be corrupted, for places near are "infected with the familie of love." They have not troubled the Council until absolutely compelled, for three canonical admonitions have been issued against them, one of them has been deprived, and another inhibited from preaching. Friends in high position have used influence on their behalf with the Archbishop of Canterbury, but as yet in vain.

149. [1584?] "A Copy of a Letter exhibited to tharchB. by the Mynisters of Kent when they were at London."

Dated Jan. 30th [1583/4], with the names:

George Caslocke
Joseph Mynge
Dud. Fenner
Joseph Nicholls
William Evans
Ja. Grove
Geo. Elye
Rich Halden
Robert Golleforde.
Anthonye Brimstone
John Elvin
Lever Wood
William Knight
Anth. Hilton
Theophilus Calver
John Maio
John Grymestone

The ministers say that while their appearance "in so greate companye" to be resolved of their doubts had been displeasing to the Archbishop, yet he had graciously heard them. Having been dismissed without knowledge of what would happen to them, however, they now signify:

"1. That neyther wee are resolved in our consciences of the most and cheiff of the former doubtes, neyther have uttered as many as we judge of like wayght.

2ly that not beynge in our consciences satisfyed to Subscribe, we humbly desyer to understand your G. favourable purpose in procedinge with us, and whether wee shall resceyve lycence to departe or no."

150. [1584?] "The defense of the mynisters of Kent."

"A true awnswer and just defense of the suspended mynisters of Kent against a false and sclaunderous libell, conceived by waie of commenting upon the preface of their doubtes, and closelie exhibited against them by the author therof, R.S., to the Archb.; and the writer of this awnswer did meane allso to deliver this to the Archb., but for some reasons refrained so to do."

1. "The accuser[1]."

"A note of the Puritans ill conscience and dis simulation." "Alebench."

"First it is to be noted that thei here subscribe and allso ascribe unto the Archb. that title of honour which they deride, and condemne, and denye unto him, not onelie in their sermons and conventicles, but even here allso in their reasons to show whie thei ought not to subscribe."

"The awnswer."

The use of the term "conventicle" is first criticised.

"The name of Conventicle you knew to be odious, as applied to sectaries and heretiques, and therfore with much spite (devoide of truth) you have laied it upon them.

For if all manner of meetings for the bellie and pastimes or for other causes (except some few which the law forbiddeth) have their tolleration and alowance, must the meeting of mynisters at a sermon, if thei after dine together, geving thanks for their meate, or haplie asking a question for increase of knowledge, be judged a conventicle?"

As to giving to the Archbishop the title which they condemn, they acknowledge the civil office derived from the Queen, but not the ecclesiastical office connected therewith. To urge subscription to such an office is to make a demand not even "the BBs. of Mawnce, Trevier, and Collen" would make.

Meeting the accusation implied in the words "Puritans" and "Alebench," the writer says:

"If thei be puritans, as your marginall note chargeth them, then are their parishioners, except I be deceived, perjured often, and M[r] Archd. can hardlie be excused from being accessorie, who hath heard manie of them prech and bene conversant with them at his visitations, never charging them of Puritanisme. But it is much better as it is, that you remaine a sclaunderer and thei such as they are.

To multiplie your reproches you could not forbeare the Alebench (the haunt of popish priests onelie), because the word of shame did please you much; but where will you finde their Alebench? right well it is knowne that in places of their most resorte from home, they either meete with such as freelie and willinglie entertaine them in hospitalitie, or els in their ordinarie meetings at sermons thei have bene content with a simple diet of a groate a meale in the house of an honest protestant and no victualor otherwise, and that of verie purpose to avoide speeches of sclaunderous tongues...."

2. To the charge of "unlearned waywardnes," the answerer retorts with sarcastic comments on the accuser's "great learning."

[1] The charges are stated in each case, and then the answers to them given.

3. The ministers are accused of "rudenes and arrogancy," in that

"thei in a sorte arrogate unto themselves equalitye with the Archb. contrarie to the humility of a christian spirite; for although kings, bishops, mynisters, and beggers be all brethren in Christ, yet it is indecors for an inferior person to chalenge such equality with a superior, as did once one of this crewe, who saide when he had seene her Ma^ty^, I praise God I have seene our sister Elizabeth today."

The only basis for this accusation is that the ministers asked the Archbishop to "unburden the consciences of his poore brethren." After Scriptural allusions and reference to the accuser's pride, the writer goes on:

"If through rudenes...thei used unseemly boldnes in calling themselves his poore brethren, then do thei in singlenes acknowledge him for their brother, but so do no Puritans, you know, then what is concluded against your first rubrick?..."

The man who referred to the Queen as "sister Elizabeth" spoke in his joy at finding the time of persecution ended, and with no ill intent; he was an honest man, although "poore, plaine, and unlettered." Nevertheless, there is no ground for describing him as "one of this crewe,"

"being no mynister, nor one that leaveth his labour to folow any; an honest man and a lover of the truth he was and is, sectary of any sorte he never was, his life and conversation unblameable."

4. "A note of their apparaunt hypocrisie" is that

"thei write in this their protestation that thei are in hope that the Archb. will offer no violence unto them, when thei say with their mouthes, as I my selfe have heard with myne eares, both in open and secreate places, that they looke for nothinge but the uttermost extremitie at his handes."

The ministers did hope for clemency from the Archbishop, but they soon saw their hopes were vain. Likewise they hoped for the conversion of the accuser when he attended sermons at Ashford, but he proved himself a traitor to God's people.

5. Their "corrupt dealing" is seen in that

"thei saie thei present their doubts in most humble wise, &c., wheras thei proudly deliver copies abroad therof, boasting that thei have confuted and confounded therin the Archb. and all his adherents, and affirme their owne calling and authority to be equall to his."

The writer says there is no evidence for this charge except in the accuser's imagination, which shows him to be "a perfect poet with fullnes of power."

6. The ministers are inconstant, because, while giving their "positions, exceptions, quarells" the name of "doubtes," they "take upon them els where to be resolute."

This is passed by with a brief denial.

7. They show "their fond phrases and unfaithfull minde" in saying their suit is made in love, and at the same time professing "hatred to the Archb. and all his proceedings."

This charge is untrue, for no Christian can hate his fellows. The Archbishop will see that the accuser is a slanderer, whose companions are those who say:

"Come, let us imagine some devise against this Jeremy, let us smite him with the tongue[1]."

8. The accuser is told that his protestation of the "weaknes of their causes" has been answered in No. 6.

9. Their lives are seditious, for while they say they desire the peace of the church,

"thei sticke not to affirme that the note of a good precher is to make debate, according to Christs Matt. 10, which thinge thei prosecute in this verie action, where in they oppose themselves against the quiet of the Church, and in other parts of their lives in making contention."

This accusation is a libel, and a peevish and malicious perversion of the truth. It is the common custom of Papists to charge preachers of the Gospel with sedition, and the accuser is following their example here. Even as wicked men, who fear "correction by discipline," labour against their pastors, even so does the accuser,

"their captaine, run upon the prechers, charging them of seditious lives and making debate and division."

10. The ministers contradict themselves in that

"thei say thei make not the least doubte, exception, or interpretation of her Ma^ties authoritie, wheras most apparantly in all these actions and controversies thei oppose themselves against the same, yea and labour by all meanes to thrust her out, and to erect a new popedome in everie parish, in advauncing of their new presbiterie,

[1] Jer. 18^18.

for the maintenance wherof thei use none other arguments but such as the papists have devised for the P."

This charge of treason is even more slanderous than that of sedition; "the poison of your malice doth swelle and increase with the number of your nots." The accuser's "wonderfull Logick" enables him to think that the arguments for the presbytery, "which hath the reason and order of Aristocratiam" are the same as those used to uphold the Papacy, which is above all things a monarchy.

11. They are presumptuous in that

"thei rashly promise to give their lives for the Q., wherin thei presume upon their owne power and shew their ignorance in Christs precepts, and I believe thei woulde in time of neede denie her fower times before the Cockes should crowe once, for thei hope for a day on the one syde as the recusant and papist do on the other side."

In his haste the accuser has "rapped his owne knockles," for the "rash promise" in which the ministers "presume upon their owne power" is simply that which every one makes under the Act of Supremacy!

"And for their ignorance in Christs precepts, until your learned skill shall make demonstration of the particularities, in what precepts of Christ and how and wherfore thei are ignorant in them, you leave a note behinde you and yet carie a marke with you, that you are of the sorte of men of whome the Apostle speaketh, They would be D^rs of the law and know not wherof they affirme."

In saying that they hope for a day on the one side, as the Papists do on the other,

"you shew them favor in that you make them an opposite side with the papists, but of like it is onely to leave your owne rowme, where Pace sometime would place his lord and maister, viz., neither among the papists nor among the protestants in the great chamber, but in the middle betweene both. These men are neither Puritans nor Brownists, nor of the Family of Love, nor sectaries of any sort, that there shou d be in their harts an hope of any day to the hurt of her Ma^ty or fo saking their duty of allegiance toward her royall person."

12. "Thei protest that thei ought not to separate themselves from the Church of England for any thing contained in the bookes mentioned in the 2^nd and 3^rd Articles etc., and so allow of the booke of Common praier that thei meane to use none other in their publique mynisterie, and yet, loe, thei refuse to subscribe unto it, which is but a signe of their allowance...."

The position of the ministers is not inconsistent, as any man "that knoweth chalke from cheese" can see. If a house is built, and it has certain faults,

"must I now either subscribe unto it that this house...containeth nothing in it contrary to the law and science of right Architecture? or if I would refuse so to subscribe, must I therfore condemne it, or not allow it, nor use it, nor like it?..."

13. "Thei affirme that thei have not used any other booke or forme of Common praier in their publique mynisteries etc., which all the world seeth is most untrue: for thei do not onelie not reade the Letany or allmost any parte of the booke, but openlye prech against the same and refuse to subscribe unto it, as unto an impious matter contrarie to Gods worde."

In less than five lines are "five shamefull sclaunders." The statement that they preach against the Book is so wide of the mark that not even their own parishes, nor the diocese of Canterbury, nor the county of Kent, nor the country of England, which is far less than "all the world," know it to be true.

14. The "follye and spitefull spirite" of the ministers is seen in that

"thei say without exception that they allow of the preaching ministery, not regardinge (as it seemeth) howe ill or fondly so ever they do preach. Marie, yf they do not preach as often as they shall thinke it goode, then they will teare them in pieces and call them dumbe dogges etc., how much so ever thei benefite the Church of Christ."

Here the accuser acts like "B. Bonner, who strake S^r^ Tho. Josselin on the face instead of the priest who had angered him." If any of the clergy have preached "ill or fondly," those who allowed such preachers should be blamed, and not the ministers of Kent.

"If your furious spirit would have suffered your pen to containe it self within the limits of truth and modestie, you must have said, if thei prech not at all, or verie seldome, then thei admonish or reprehend them, sometimes out of the worde of God; for you speake the wordes of Esay the prophet, it is he that ($56^{10,11}$), not teareth them in pieces, but painteth them in their colors, to set them before our eies.

It goeth well that even herein you give a light to discover perfectlie your owne harte. For if the wordes of God in his prophet be unto your eares so irkesome, ougly, and so out of square,

no wonder if the prechers wordes be so easily despised; and if it be so that your stomacke can not brooke just reprehension of others when it concerneth your self nothing at all, much lesse can you digest and swalowe downe those pilles bitter to your palate, which good apothecaries out of the word of God do compound and prepare, to purge evill and noisome humours of sinners....To reprehend unpreching and unteaching shepheardes, Bishops, priests and mynisters, it hath bene among Gods people alowable, lawful, and usuall, in the Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, pastors, and prechers of the worde of God, under the law, under the gospell, and under the thickest darknes of poperie, yea the Canon law it self saieth, as I finde it cited, That they which do not teach are worthily adjudged to bee dumbe dogges."

15. "Thei promise all curteous behaviour to them whose names I heare them daily blaspheme, whose disloialty thei perswade, whose obedience thei reprove, and whose conformity they deride."

This is evidently hearsay, for it is absolutely untrue. The accuser is requested to "shew the man, the time, the place, the matter, to whome, in which, and for which you laide blame on him...."

16. "Thei [say] that thei desire not to deprave the authority which established the saide books, but submit themselves unto it, and to all magistrats set over [them] by her Ma^ty^, and yet thei raile in their sermons and in all their private and publique places against it and all such as do mainteine it, thei refuse either to subscribe therunto or to obey the magistrats commandment therin or in things indifferent, yea in matters most godly and necessary as well for the Church as for the Common wealth."

This is false, because:

(i) Their sermons have been heard by "a great number of honest and loyall subjects," who would not have allowed "so great contempt of the lawes."

(ii) "The number of enimies like unto your self is not so litle but that thei would (if such cause had bene given by the ministers) soone have brought upon them the punishment which the law appointeth for such transgression."

17. "Thei say thei have not the least irreverend opinion of the authors of the booke, and that thei were holy Martyrs etc., and yet affirme it to be contrary to Gods word, and refuse to subscribe, wherby thei give occasion to papists to say that our service is impious by our owne confession, and that this our bad liturgye was established by our greatest Divines."

This is a slander, like the rest of the notes; it has been answered in No. 12. It matters not whether the Papists be

offended; the Pharisees were offended with Christ, but he did not regard their "being offended."

18. "Thei say thei thinke it was not the meaning of those learned Martyrs that there should be any subscription to the booke, as though that shoulde be delivered to the people which they knewe to be naughte and contrarie to the worde of God."

The difference between the ordinances of God and the writings of men, "be the men never so holie and learned, so godlie and wise," is that the former are immutable and righteous, the latter always "subject to possibility of error and slipping." Certainly the learned compilers of the book never expected that, after thirty years,

"in which time some more light and increase of knowledge of the gospell were not unlike to be found," all the ministers of the land would be "compelled to subscribe to everie jote, title, and rubricke conteined in their books etc."

19. "A note of their insensible expositions of lawes and statutes" is that

"thei would expounde the meaning of the authors of the booke of Common prayer by the statutes of this lande, which is verie straunge, specially seing they withstand the statute purposelie made to that intente."

Although speaking of "insensible expositions," the accuser only mentions one, and "there was never a more sencelesse" instance given. It is because the ministers think that there is no law to sanction the urging of subscription that they protest. What the accuser means by "the statute purposelie made" they do not know; if he refers to that of 1571, "thei have offered and are ready to performe so much as the lawe requireth"; if that of 1559, his slander has been answered in No. 16.

20. "A note of how thei excuse their obstinacy by negligence and theire dutye by ignorance" reads:

"Thei say that manie things in the booke of Common prayer etc., pertaine not unto them, neither in practise nor in use, and that thei have not considered nor read the parts therof: if those matters pertaine not unto them, whie have thei so railed against them? if thei have not considered nor read the contents therof, thei are the more to blame, and why seeme thei thus obstinately to inveigh against the same? or why should thei refuse to shew obedience by subscribing

to that which those of greater learning then themselves have done, and whereof they can yielde no cause of refusall."

These charges are but queries from the accuser's imagination, which "as streames of water shew the fountaine from whence thei proceede." Nothing can be "so impudent in all mens sight" as "the last particle, in which you say thei can yielde no cause of refusall," for

"you your selfe have confessed in your 1st and 8th note that thei have yielded reasons and repeated causes."

21. The ministers "testifie their obedience by resisting of the commaundement and authoritie of the magistrate."

They but express their doubts concerning subscription, and thus quiet their consciences. If these doubts cannot be "resolved," they are willing to suffer. Meanwhile, the accuser is referred to Prov. 14^5 and Ps. 140^{11}.

22. While stating that they are "willing to beare any lawfull yoke under her Mats government," "thei will not obey her in indifferent things" and "thei impugn her most godly ordinances and compt them as a yoke or thralldome."

This also is a slander. *Christ's* yoke is the important thing, and while true Christians find it easy, many "pretensed protestants" discover it to be "uneasy and rough"!

23. Their behaviour has disturbed all their parishes, every one of which has been turned from peace to turmoil during their ministry. Do they not hold that contention is the note of a good pastor, and that, like Christ, they come to bring, not peace, but a sword?

"Hath not Minge brought Ashford from being the quietest towne of Kent to be at deadly hatred and bitter division? What hath Casslocke done at Charte? doth not Nicholls offend all the Congregations where he cometh?...what offence giveth Evans with his drunkennes and beastly behaviour, and Grimson with his ignorance, folly and pride? and yet but a bad tailor is leapt into the pulpit; hath not Eelie set Tenterden, his parish, together by the ears, which before was quiet? what broile and contention hath Fenner made in Cranbrooke, and all the rest likewise in their severall Cures?"

The accuser has poured the whole of his Pandora's box of shameless slander into this his last dish; the baseness of his charges may be shown by dealing with them point by point.

First, then, most of their congregations are at peace, and in the one or two remaining places, the discord is due to the interference of the accuser himself, and in these, "the godly sorte," who favour "vertue, godlines, ordinary discipline, and good and lawfull order," are on the side of the minister.

The statement that all the parishes were quiet before the coming of the ministers is altogether false.

"Go to, then, there was great neighbourhood and unity at Rumney till Knight came there, great unity at Egerton till Calver came amongest them, much unity at Hawkherst before Greene his coming thither; as all the Countrie can tell, there was never division at Achford till Minge came there, nor at Tenterden before Eely his time, nor at Alldington until Case came thither!"

The charge that one of them said that contention was the mark of a good pastor has been met in No. 9.

After the "maine battaile," the writer turns to the accuser's "hand-strokes."

(i) As to Minge, "whome the L. hath set free from all your spite and malice, wherewith a longe time you have persequuted him." If only the accuser had remembered that before Minge went to Ashford, Carslake[1] was minister there two years, the town would not have been called "the quietest towne of Kent"! As a matter of fact the peace of the town was due, even more than to Carslake, to "my L. of Dovers authority, who then dwelte among them."

And what is the evil that Minge has done at Ashford?

"If to deface a monument of superstition, to put away a font case, coloured, guilded, and pictured story, like with the 7 popish sacraments, the B. giving holy orders and confirming children, the priest saying Masse and Christening with Exorcismes, marryinge, shriving, and annealing, as thei call it, these things being slubbered over with a white wash that in a houre may be undone, standing like a Dianaes shrine for a future hope and daily comforte of old popish beldames and yong perking papists, and a great offence to all that are Christianly minded; if to seeke a goodly reformation of a wealthie fornicator by true repentance, and obteyning it not, to seeke discipline according to the lawes Ecclesiastical, et ne hoc quidem impetrans; if to teach, to admonish, to exhort, and upon occasion given to reprehend temporizing papists, which to save all whole will come to the Church, but so place themselves and so order the matter that thei will neither see nor heare the mynister, nor pray with the congregation; if in all these things wherin he ought to have bene aided and countenanced, he had the crosse measure, if such faults as these in Minge were causes to make Achford etc.,

[1] "whome you call Casslocke."

then like enough he was cause or meane of some contention at Achford, but as Paul was of the uprore at Ephesus...."

(ii) The accuser's slanders fail to touch *Carslake*, for he made Ashford "the quietest towne in Kent."

(iii) *Nichols* has disturbed no single congregation—and here the accuser is warned that his use of the word "congregation" may bring him "in suspition to be half a Calvinist, which cloake you have bene content to weare a good while agoe."

"With shame enough you may cease to speake of Nichols destroying the good seede, for a number of good Christian men can and will be ready to testify that he hath bene a painfull and diligent pastor and minister of Christ, so deigned of the L., both by his spirituall guifts and by lawfull and ordinary calling in his Church."

(iv) *Evans*. Nothing is known of his being suspended or put to penance for drunkenness. Even if the charge should be true, it is no justification for classing all "preching ministers" with him.

"But if the lives of unpreching S^r^ Johns were well looked into for their sundrie vices, which passe quietly enough, and thei reformed or expelled, Evans shoulde not wante store of companions, but many Pluralistes their lewde Curates, and many Churches their sayinge service."

(v) *Grimson* has used the talents which God has given him so well

"that he is able reasonable well to understand a Latine writer in Divinity, and give reason and account of his faith and doctrine by the word of God in all substantiall points of Christian religion."

Again, "the time of his tailorship unto the obteining of his licence to teach in his owne cure, (wherunto his froward parishioners by comeplayning against him for teaching unlicenced did drive him), being x yers, was sufficient to instruct a man, studious, and therto wholly bent, for a tollerable mynister in a small vicarage, as the world goeth. I have not heard of his going or leaping into foraine pulpits, and in his own parish it may be he hath taught at the deske as others doe, and then your hasty leaping hath overslipt the truth, and in your haste these faults you have committed: first, by his sides you strike your friend which was the onely meane and obteiner of his licence; secondly, you do, as it were, spit in the face of the authority which allowed him; thirdly, you show your spite as you were wonte against the spirit of grace in the weake and feeble members of Jesus Christ."

(vi) *Eely* has kept his parish of Tenterden at peace for many years, and it would have been so still "if a few pot companions, disordered, and sensuall persons among them had not sought trouble against him." However his cause has been tried before competent judges, and he has been justified, and his slanderers put to shame.

(vii) *Fenner* has made no "broile and contention" in Cranbrooke, and it is impossible to gain credit by defaming him, for "Dudly

Fenner" is well known for his "rare and unheard guifts of God in so yong yers."

All the ministers wish that this charge against them could be tried by the country, and not by a "packt Jurie."

"I would not doubt but the parishes where moste of these men have for any time dwelt, shall be found as quiet, as ready, and happilie forward in all good duties to God and their prince, as any other whatsoever parishes which are not troubled with preaching and teaching mynisters."

The answer concludes with a quotation from Ps. 31[18]:

"Let the lying lippes be made dumbe which cruellye, proudly, and spitefully speake against the righteous."

151. [1584.] "A Supplication of the Ministers of Peterborough Diocese[1]."

The supplication is addressed to the Lord Treasurer by "Robert Cawdrie...and Nicholas Williamson." They speak for about forty-five ministers, who have refused

"to subscribe to certain articles latelie sent forth from the Archb. of Cant., some...being allreadie suspended, other some admonished, and the rest reserved to awaite further suspension and deprivation when the B. shall see good, and we who presentlie tender our humble suit unto your H., to wit, Robert Cawdrie of South Luffnam[2], where your Hon. is patrone, and Nicholas Williamson of Castle Ashbie, where the L. Compton hath of late builded, are with other, as we take it, more hardlie dealt with then the rest, having been suspended before others, and manie of them tollerated to exercise their ministerie againe, and we, not obtaining anie hope to be receaved, but are rather threatned to be utterlie deprived, and that within these six daies, for what causes God knoweth; but yet there are some vehement presumptions, the one of us being hardlie set against by the L. Compton, who hath offered largelie to the Bp. for the furtherance of his deprivation."

The suppliants therefore pray the Lord Treasurer—"whome God hath stirred up to be a meane for the ministers of Norf. and Suffolke"—to use his influence that they might continue to exercise their ministries, or else have impartial treatment. They acknowledge the Queen's authority, use "the booke of common praier and non other," and have subscribed the Articles of Religion, although persuaded in their consciences that "some points...are unlawfull and others inconvenient."

[1] The counties of Northampton and Rutland are mentioned.

[2] Below, Nos. 226–9.

152—3. 1584. The ministers of Suffolk.

I. "Their doubts and offer to the Bishop."

They ask for the resolution of their doubts according to law, mentioning one or two points out of many.

1. They are quite willing to swear to the Queen's authority, as they have often done.

2, 3 and 4. They object to private baptism, the use of the sign of the cross, and the catechising of infants.

5. It is impossible to commit notorious sinners to the grave in sure and certain hope of resurrection to everlasting life.

6. How can the omission of some canonical writings be justified when some of the apocryphal books are read?

7. "Now as touching the booke of ordeining Bishops and Mynisters, because we have it not, neither could we at this time come by it, therfore we crave that time may be given us to peruse it and afterwardes to give an awnswer therunto."

8. "Allso as concerninge the booke of Articles in such sort as the Statute requireth consent unto them, namely so farre as thei belong unto matters of faith and doctrine of the Sacraments, we see no cause why we should not subscribe unto it."

II. "The names within the Archdeaconrye of Suffolk and Sudbury that be suspended for not subscribeinge[1]."

1.	Norton Decanatus Blackborne	Nicholas Browen M.A. Preacher. Thedwaster
2.	Bradfeild St. Clare	Rych. Grandish [?Crandish] B.A. Rector
3.	Bradfeild St. Georges	Laurentius Whitakers B.A. Rector
4.	Testock	D. Rich. Holden B.A. Rector
5.	Rushbrook	Walter Allen, S.T.B.
6.	Barowe	Reginald Whitefeild M.A.
7.	Horingers	Thomas Rogers
8.	Hegesset	Anthony Rowz [Rowes]
9.		Thomas Warren
10.		William Cooke
11.		William Holden
	Suspended Jan. 22nd.	
12.	Shattam	Nich. Bonnington. Rector
13.	Bargholte	John Tylmen [?Tilney] M.A. Curate
14.	Stratforde	Rych. Dowe M.A. Vicar
15.	Bramforde	John Carter M.A. Vicar

[1] A second document is headed: "Ministers in Suffolke not resolved to subscribe." This has 64 names, containing all the 60 in the text except Robert Ballarde, and in addition Nich. Bownd, Willm. Harvey, Wm Rushbrooke, a second Lawr. Whitakers, of Bresw., and — Smith.

[Nos. 16—60.] Suspended Jan. 23rd.

16.	Brettnham	Martin Brige [Briggs] M.A. Rector
17.	Boxforde	Henry Sandes. Preacher of the Word of God
18.	Beildston	John Holden. Rector
19.	Boxsted	Thomas Cranshawe M.A. Rector
20.		and Peter Cook. Curate
21.	Cockfeild	John Knewstubb, S.T.B. Rector
22.	Negdin	William Hey. Rector
23.	Sudbury St. Georges	John Fulthroppe
24.	Clare	Robert Ballarde B.A. Rector
25.	Haverell	Lawrence Farcliff. Vicar
26.		John Warde. Preacher
27.	Stragshall	Nicholaus Egleston. Rector
28.	Wrattinge parva	William Turner. Rector
29.	Denham impray	Robert Prick. Curate
30.	Eriswell	Thomas Sutton M.A. Rector
31.		Josiah Hallington
32.		Edmond Salmon
33.		Thomas Jeffraye
34.		Thomas Wattys [? Wallis]
35.		Mr Phillips
36.		Roger Nutle [Nuttell]
37.		Roger Geoffraye
38.		John Smythe
39.		John Forthe
40.		Thom. Mors
41.		William Browne
42.		John Cooper
43.		William Flemminge
44.		Robert Sweete
45.		William Bentloe
46.		John Smyth
47.		Tho. Haggas
48.		Daniel Devies
49.		William Bend [Bendes]
50.		George Webb
51.		John Englishe
52.		Tho. Fowle
53.		Rob. Cotsforde
54.		Rich. Kinge
55[1].		Mr Lowell
56.		Mr Walsh
57.		Mr Pigge
58.		Mr Hill
59.		Mr Smith (of Pelst.)
60.		D. Creeke

[1] Nos. 55—60 are described in the second list as "not called."

154. [.] "Recusants in Lincolnshire."

21 names.

Rycharde Allen
John Daniell
Tho. Fulberke
Hughe Tuke
Jo. Hudleston
Tho. Man
Anthonie Hunt
Reinolde Grome
Tho. Tripler
Henry Nelson
Josephe Gipson
Tho. Bradelye
John Prior
James Worshippe
Charles Bingham.
John Somerskales
William Munninge
John Wintle
Humphry Travers
Rych. Holdsworth
Rych. Kellet

155. [1584.] "Ministers in Northfolk not resolved to subscribe."

John Moore
Tho. Roberts
Rych. Woodes
Samuel Otes
John Morgan
Rych. Foster
Nich. Ailand
John Bernarde
Edw. Sharpe
Thom. Aldred
Leonard Raynewe
Samuel Greenwaye
Robert Linaker
Thom. Mellis
John Harrison
Edm. Bishopp
John Percivall
Rob. Kendall
Rych. Lawson
John Cullye
John Staton
Sam Staton
James Armesteed
Rob. Conney
William Carter
William Nashe
Thomas Winter
Tho. Sowter
John Waters
Rob. Kenion
George Leedes
Rych. Gibson
Vincent Goodwine
Rob. Farye
Tho. Bowman
Tho. Hawley
Lancelot Stevenson
Steven Gerves
Tho. Lewgar
Tho. Mathew
Henry Ryse
John Smyth
Jo. Fenton
Alex. Stephanson
William Foster
Franc. Sponer
Nich. Corker [?Corter]
John Browe
John Bairdsell
John Greene
Edw. Read
John Rawlins
John Cooke
Rych. Cowp
Tho. Elwine
William Burton Ju
Tho. Jones
Hamlet Cartwright
Thom. Setle
John Rishton
M^r^ Howes
M^r^ Mawde

besides not called

M^r^ Sanderson
M^r^ Fenton

156. 1584. "Northfolk."

1. "M^r^ Flemminge."

An extract from the Register of the Bishop of Norwich, in Latin, dated July 23^rd^, 1584, and witnessed by the Registrar, Richard Skinner. It states that William Fleming has obstinately refused to subscribe the three articles, that he has been

repeatedly admonished, and at last deprived of his living of Beccles.

2. John Holden, Rector of Bildeston.

A similar extract, but in a strange mixture of Latin and English, stating that Holden refused to subscribe when summoned to do so on Dec. 18th, 1583. He was therefore suspended, the suspension being read in the church by Edward Ketle, minister, and affixed to the church door on July 26th, 1584.

Holden's appearances—or summonses to appear—before the Bishop and his officers are then detailed, to the number of seven. In the margin a few unimportant Puritan comments are given. The text of the three articles to which subscription was demanded follows, with the Puritan annotations:

"1. This oth must be made accordinge unto the tenor of the statute in that case provided, and not otherwise.

2. This is more then the statute requireth, and so contrarie therto by the seid statute.

3. This was never greatly gainesaide, wherunto every incumbent hath already subscribed and consented. They are not all articles of our beleefe, but some of other sort."

157. 1584. "The Councells Letters to the B. of London for Mr Huckle." "Norfolke."

I. Signed on May 4th, 1584, by Burghley, Knolls, Warwick, Walsingham, Charles Howard, Henry Sidney.

They have examined John Huckle and found him to be sound in religion, detesting Arianism and willing to sign the Athanasian Creed. They therefore see no reason why he should not exercise his ministry, and ask the Bishop to revoke his suspension.

II. On the xxxviij of April (? May 8th)[1], the Bishop wrote:

"I dare not restore Mr Huckle, who hath shewed himselfe a daungerous man, not only himselfe denyinge Athanasius creede, but bringeinge two other preachers into the same error of Arrianisme, which opinion he held againste me in diverse conferences. Wherefore I maye not in a good conscience set him at libertie untill I have

[1] Either xxxviij April = May 8th, in which case the Bishop's letter is a reply to the Council; or, more probably, it should be xxviij = 28th, in which case the Bishop's letter is first, and the Council's the reply. The matter is mentioned in Strype, *Aylmer*, 71. See also Cooper, *Ath. Cant.* II. 23, and authorities there quoted.

better and longer experience of him. If I should I could nether answere to God, hir ma^tie, nor mine owne conscience, nor the church of God...."

158—160. 1579–84. Barnaby Benison[1].

I. "1580. M^r Benison matter."

This is a petition to an unnamed Privy Councillor from Benison himself.

He complains that the Bishop of London slandered him by reporting that his marriage was "misorderly,...two or three hundred" being present. This is altogether false, for there were but twenty people at the service. Nevertheless if he can keep the Queen's "godly favour," he cares nothing "for Bs. blessings or cursings."

Benison then summarises the Bishop's treatment of him.

1. To confirm the complaint he had made to the Queen concerning "the faithful and godly man, M^r Field" and myself, the Bishop called us before him on May 15^th, 1579. His "longe and tedious speech" had nothing to do with the complaint, however, but consisted of

"poseinge me very strangely, (far from the purpose of such a solemne presentinge) in many odd pointes of Hebrue and greeke wordes with grammaticall questioninge, but yet he taught me nothinge at all, saveinge that he often tauntingly threw in my face a Frenche fashion, and gibed me much with a Geneva tricke."

2. Discovering nothing worthy of accusation, he invented charges against me, found me guilty in my absence, and sent me "to be imprisoned at his pleasure in the gatehouse amongest perverse papists, rebells, and roges."

3. Though seen and three times written to by those who testified to my innocence, he kept me in his dungeon eight dayes, slandering me all the time, "as my deare frendes in the Lorde told me, the good doctor Haimond and faithfull father Foxe." This was especially hard on "my poore and weake wife," to whom I had been married less than two weeks, for her relatives refused to help her.

4. Treating me as an evil-doer, he bound me and others "in new bonds of good abearance and lawfull behaviour." He

[1] See B.M. Lans. MS. XLII. 86; Index to Strype's *Works*; Neal; Brook.

promised to release "my frende" from his bond on the following day, but has not done so after two months.

5. Members of the Bishop's household are making public the statement that their master "still saith to such godly men as bewail my wofull case and calamitie to him," that he punishes me because I committed fornication with my wife before marriage. This is a foul slander, and if the such ill treatment continues until "I be againe chased over the seas,...my wife will starve," being without maintenance.

"Wherefore I most humbly beseech your godly honour, especially ...beinge called to the highest roome of a councellor, for the everlasting love that the L. beareth you, and for the pitty you take on Gods true protestants and his poore people, be a meanes that my pitifull crye maye be hearde and my just cause with some creditt be cleared, to Gods honor and her majestie, to the stoppinge of the mouthes of the wicked, to whom a godly mariage is but a meere mockery, to the releasinge moreover, not of my heavie greefe alone, but of mo, and that through your L. good helpe I, nowe beinge halfe deade, maye recover ageine to get a poore liveinge, with the litle learninge that God hath lent mee to his glory, to the dischargeinge some parte of dutie to the profitt of this lande."

II. Nov. 14th, 1584. The Council to the Bishop of London on behalf of Mr Benison.

Signed by

Bromley, cancel.	Robert Leicester	Walter Mildmaye
William Burghlye	Charles Howard	Christopher Hatton
Ambr. Warwicke	Frauncis Knowles	Francis Walsingham
Franc. Bedforde	James Crofte.	

"...Whereas Barnaby Benison, minister, hath given us to understande the great hindrance he hath received by the hard dealinge with him and his longe imprisonment, for which if he shall bringe his action of false imprisonment againste you, he should by ordinarie course of lawe recover damages, the which would be further trouble unto him, and not without some touch to your L. creditt: Wee have thoughte good therefore to require your L. to use some consideration towardes him, in giveinge him some reasonable some of monye, therby to repaye that wronge you have done unto him and in respect of the hindrance he hath incurred by your harde dealinge towardes him. In doinge of the which, as you shall give us occasion to think very well of that kinde of recompense, so we doubt not that our mediation shall the rather thereunto. Therfore prayeinge your L. so to deale with the poore man that he maye have occasion to turne his complaintes into giveinge to us good reporte of your charitable dealinge, we bidd you hartily farewell...."

III. "The B. Answer" (n.d.).

"My most humble dutie remembred to your hon. LL. Yt maye please the same to understande, that the cause whie I answered not your LL. letters was for that I thoughte your LL. meaninge was the partie Benison should have come to me, which he did not. Wherefore for answere, in most humble wise I beseeche your good LL. graciously to consider that it [is] a rare example, thus to press a B. for his zealous service to the Q. Majestie, and for the peace of the church; especially the man beinge founde worthie to be committed by the wholl sessions for his denyall to go to the churche, and other wise to conforme himselfe. And beinge called (as he was) for his disorders by the magistrats of the citye, (a sufficient argument in my Judgement) to showe what opinion all men of authoritie had of his insolency and disorderly behaviour (to speake nothinge of his contemptuous useinge of mee), all which things I thought your LL. had considered of, that I should have heard no more of them.

Neverthelesse, seinge it pleaseth your good LL. to require of mee some reasonable summe of money, I am most humblie to praye your LL. to consider of my poore estate, beinge presently such as I am driven to borowe £500 for the repaireinge of Paules church, towardes which I cannot gett a pennye of them that I sued, and when I shall the Lorde knoweth. Your LL. also do burden me with the Irishe yonge gentleman called Broughe[1], besides the great charges that I have of mine owne children, togeather with the great burden of the parlament and convocation, which of all other lyeth most heavily upon the poore B of London. The premises considered, togeather with the great vaunte the man will make of this conquest over a B., my trust is that yow will deale favorably with me, referring it to my selfe, ether to bestowe upon [him], when opportunity shall serve, some small benefice, or otherwise to helpe him as I maye when these great charges of mine are overblowen. Or if this shall not satisfie the man or content your LL., to leave him to the tryall of the lawe, which I hope will not be so plaine for him as he taketh it. And surely, my good LL., this and the like must greatly discourage me in this poore service of mine, in the commission wherin, if I shall seeme remisse, I praye yow impute it to these crosses or mine olde age, which bringeth with it all imperfections. Thus referringe myselfe wholly to your Hon. wisdom, I beseeche the Almightie to blesse you with his graces to all our comforts and his glory.

Your LL. to command Jhon London."

161. 1584. "The true report of a conference had betweene the B. of Wintchester and John Edwine, Vicare and Minister of Wandworths in Surr. 30 Aprilis 1584."

[1] The Privy Council Registers are missing for this year; otherwise it might be possible to discover to what this refers.

B. Where dwell you?

E. At Wandsworthe in Surr.

B. Where were yow brought up?

E. At Wandsworth for the most parte.

B. What, in no schoole?

E. Never in any schoole, but a litle at Rochester; but both my father before me and I allso have dwelt at Wandsworth 42 yeres and more for the most parte. And as for these 25 yeres, I have bene vicare of Wands. In which time I have not bene Idle (I thank God) but occupied about some thinge.

B. Where were yow made minister?

E. I was made minister when Archb. Parker was first created Archb., and when as the old Bishopp of Bangor (who made me minister at the Archb. commaundement in the Bowe Churche at London) was the only bishoppe in England.

B. Do yow use to chatechise? How do yow use yt?

E. I do use to catechise every Sondaye, first before eveninge prayer, secondly in the midst of eveninge prayer.

B. You have not subscribed?

E. No.

B. Why?

E. My L., I perceive that your L. minde ys that we should give our allowaunce of the booke of common prayer. And for this matter we thinke there is no cause whie I shoulde be called into question: for I use yt, I do not refuse yt, I speake not against yt, which are manifest tokens that I allow it.

B. Many of yow that saye so will not tell what yow have done before, nether what they will do hereafter, and therefore yow must subscribe.

E. I take yt for a greater allowaunce to use a thinge then to subscribe unto yt.

B. You thinke yt, and saye yt is unreasonable and unlawfull to require yow to subscribe.

E. I praye yow, my L., do yow gather these wordes of any that I have said?

B. No.

E. Then all is well.

B. This is no new thinge, as though the Archb. had now newly begunne yt. But this order was sett downe 13 yeres agoe by an assembly of learned men, wherof I was the youngest and punye. And therefore you must subscribe, or els shew cause whie yow will not.

E. In the booke of common prayer are some things that ordinarilye the minister useth if he use the booke. But there are other which the minister neede not use, as the rubrickes. As for the first, for the most parte I use them. But as for the seconde, I hold yt unlawfull to allowe them. Which if we subscribe we allow them, and therfore I hold yt unlawfull to subscribe. But, my L., if no excuse will serve but I must needes subscribe, or els shew cause whie I will

not, I certifie your L. that I am prepared to show your L. three reasons, which I am sure your L. will allowe before I speake them, if I be able to prove them. 1. There are some thinges in the booke of common prayer that are against the worde of God, and therfore repugnant to the worde of God. The Seconde—

B. Naye, staye there, let us talke of this firste.

E. Very well. I like your order well....

and with that I turned to the rubricke before confirmation of children, [...which says that children baptized have all things necessary to salvation].

B. You must not take yt as the wordes importe.

E. No? My L., is it not your pleasure that we should subscribe to things in the booke? Or els is it your pleasure that we subscribe to the interpretation that yow give of the wordes?

B. To the sence you must subscribe, for the papists drawe all their errors out of the Word of God.

E. That is not so, for they do not drawe their errors out of the worde of God, nether can yow prove yt. But if we must subscribe to the sence, then must yow amend your article. For your article saith there is nothinge repugnant to the worde of God in the booke of common prayer.

B. What if yow should subscribe to the gospell, would you subscribe to the wordes or to the sence?

E. I would subscribe to the worde,—

And before I could say, and to the sence, he said, There yow lye.

E. My L., I beseech yow let us have good wordes. I saye againe we must subscribe to both sence and wordes.

B. I saye naye. Where Christ sayth, I am the dore, will you subscribe to the wordes.

On these lines a brisk discussion ensued[1], the use of figurative language being debated at length. Then Edwin put forward other examples from the Book, claiming that if all learned men had subscribed the Litany, there would be no reply to the charge of the Papists that the English Church prayed for the dead. Coming to other doctrinal questions the Bishop said:

B. The doctrine conteined in a Sacrament belongeth to learned men, such as can rightly and wisely dispose the same to the righte purpose. Exercise yow catechisinge, and let this alone.

E. My L., yow must beare with mee, I am of another minde; for I thinke yt meete, convenient, and also required in our obedyence towards our God, that every man learne and teach all whatsoever God hath revealed unto us in his worde.

[1] See Brook, I. 286–7.

B. Beyonde the seas in diverse partes of Saxonie, there are prohibitions that diverse articles of religion are restrained that they may not be taughte; as namely predestination, and that therefore wee maye thanke God that we have the libertie and freedom that we have, and we oughte to be content therewith.

E. I cannot without teare remember the merveilous graces and benefits that wee enjoye by the freedome of the gospell which wee enjoye. Which I praye God, maye never be interrupted. I must also call to minde and I do allso remember the innumerable consolations and benefitts which we enjoye by the government of our most gracious soveraigne Ladye, whom I beseech God to make longe to indure. But are these any reasons to cause us to yeld to any thinge against the worde of God?

The dialogue then turned to the question of private communion and finally Edwin summed up thus:

E. But, my L., your answere ys to no purpose of that whereof we have to do and in hande, for the question betweene us is whether in the booke of common prayer be any thinge repugnant to the worde of God. Yow bringe in examples of the primitive church. And althoughe I do not doubte but Justinus Martyr had authoritie to defend his doinge and sayinge, and whether I maye compare that time with this time of ours I doubte of yt, and leave that to other. Againe, you bringe in examples of times of persecutions, but our time is a time of peace and godlines, God be thanked. And, my Lord, I thinke there is no learned man in the realme of England that knoweth the gospell, and hath had the thorow taste of the sweetnes of the Gospell that can easily saye, much lesse subscribe, that these ij places are not repugnant to the worde of God.

B. What, do yow condemne all them that have subscribed? do you say that all that have subscribed have done wickedly?

E. My L., I beseech you misconstrue not my wordes....

B. Sirra, to one of his men, What is it a clocke?

Man. Halfe houre past 10, almost eleven.

E. My L., we have not yet done. I told your L. I had 3 reasons, we have scarse begun one.

B. I have had more adoe with yow then with all the rest.

E. And, my L., to no purpose on your parte.

B. The Bishopp looked, beckened to M^r^ Browne of Horlye, for he was last, What say yow, you have not subscribed?

M^r^ B. No, my L.; and they reasoned.

The B. beganne to go towarde his dinner, and therwith he sayd.

B. I will give yow two the same day I gave them before.

E. My lorde, yow have not made an end with me. I told your L. I had three reasons, I trust yow will make an end with me before you proceed againste me.

B. What be your other two reasons?

E. If your L. will promise me that wee shall reason them out, I will tell them; if not, it were folly for me to speake of them.

B. I had rather perswade a nomber of learned men then yow.

E. I speake not of learninge, but of conscience, and my conscience without perswasion will not yeld. For with a good conscience grounded upon the worde of God, I have stayed myselfe hitherto. And, my L., with as good a conscience will I be removed and leave it, or else, God willinge, I will never be removed or leave yt.

The three reasons or positions.

1. [As above.]

2. That in the booke of common prayer are some things contrarie and against the lawes of our most gracious prince and blessed realme.

3. That in the booke of common prayer, are some things, which beinge subscribed unto, do maintaine, corroborate, confirme and justifie the most grossest errors and heresies of the pope and papists.

162. [1584?] "Kent. What the ministers of Kent, M^r^ Knewstubb first, and M^r^ Oxenbridge tendered to the L. Treas."

Wheras (Righte honorable and our very good L.) we have heard by the relation of the worshipfull M^r^ Thomas Wotton, Esquire and M^r^ Edwarde his sonne, that your L. pleasure ys, that we should declare in writeinge our consent to these ij points:

That we will use the booke of common prayer in our publike ministerie; And that we will not directly and plainly in our publike preachinge inveighe against yt.

Touchinge the first, as we have hitherto used the seid booke in our publike administration, so we do purpose to use the same, and none other, except some other shalbe established by publike authoritie. And toucheinge the seconde, we alwayes have had and do purpose to have, both in our publike preachinge and otherwise, the peace of the church and our bounden dutie to her ma^tie^ in especiall regarde, and to walke in all quiet and christian behaviour, towards all such as ether thinke otherwise of any of the books, or observe the booke of common prayer somewhat more strictly then we can do.

And thus hopeinge these be the thinges that your H. thinketh good to require at our handes, we most humbly beseech your L. to be a meane, that we maye be delivered from that subscription which the statutes of this realme have not laide upon us (as we verely thinke) and that we maye [be] restored to our ministery as in time past. Which if we obteine, we shalbe bounde both to praise God for your clemency, and also to praye for the increase and continuance of your honourable estate.

163. [1584?] A Supplication to Parliament[1].

The suppliants call to mind the fact that at their last assembly, the Parliament petitioned the Queen for the further advancement of the Gospel. Although the Queen accepted this petition, and although she favours the godly, yet many abuses remain, and the Houses are therefore begged to continue their requests to the Queen, in order that a "perfect redresse" might be obtained, and the good beginning have a worthy ending. Some of the great enormities that still remain are therefore mentioned in order that the godly zeal and wise dealing of Parliament may see them removed.

The lack of laws for the restraint of wickedness, the great ignorance of the common people, and the recent increase of "new and daungerous errors and damnable heresies" will all bring down God's wrath, unless there is speedy reformation. Something has been attempted in Convocation, but nothing like so much as the Queen desired and Parliament requested. The articles respecting the ignorant ministry and commutation of penance then agreed on[2] were mere words. They have not been enforced, and many thousands of the people lack spiritual food just as they did before.

"Nay, is not this [Christ's] pretious blood for want of this glorious gospell preched and true discipline duelie administred (according to your godlie petition) by drunkards, adulterers, schismatiques, heretiques, Atheists, blasphemers, and an infinite number of such like prophane persons contemned, derided, and shamefullie... troden under their filthie feete? Are there not still these Idoll ministers in our Church, which notwithstanding the articles agreed on..., abuse the holie ministrie of the lord? Other that are idle bellies which can and will not feede in due season their flocke.... Other that have 2 or more benefices or dignities contrary to the expresse word of God, making little or no conscience at all of continuall residence and discharge of their function, besides a number of popish priestes and godlesse wretches, which with uncleane hands usurp and defile the ministrie of God, being utterlie unworthie to be admitted to the lowest function in his church.

[1] The heading says "about the beginning of her Ma^tie raigne," but the date is clearly fixed by internal references as subsequent to 1576 (at the very earliest).

[2] Articles on these points were passed in Convocation in 1576, 1580, 1584 and 1585; to which assembly reference is made is doubtful.

And as for those few that can and doe in some measure discharge their function and painfullie labour in the Ls vinyeard, how are thei intreated with false reports, slaunders, hard dealings, and manie other such like incumbrances, wherby thei are brought not onlie into great infamie and shamefull reproch, but allso into dailie and present daunger of losse of their places and ministrie."

How can the Queen's subjects be obedient, when they are never taught to obey God, when they never hear the preaching of God's Word, which alone can make them dutiful subjects? Parliament must therefore continue to urge the Queen to go forward with the reformation of the church.

164. [1584.] A Petition to the Queen.

Although neither of Parliament nor Convocation, the petitioners desire to testify their love and good will. They understand that Parliament has been called to provide for the safety of the realm and of the Queen's person, and on these points they wish to speak. Without doubt the chief enemy of country and Queen is the See of Rome. The question is, what makes the confederates of that See so bold as to attack the Queen?

"One princypall cause is that yet they see and perceave, throwgth lacke of teaching, three partes at least of the people of thys lande so ignorant and wedded to theyr olde superstytion styll, that they assure theymselves that, If they could prevayll once,...they should easely agayn cause theyr kingdom and relygyon to be established. And an other cause, and that of no small weight, your highnes should fynde to be, that scarse in the tenth parysh of thys...realme there is resydent a vygylant and watchefull shephard or pastor, able and wylling to knowe and fynd out the particuler dysposycon of every shepe he hath, and to chase away from theym all foxes and wolves that seek to come amongst theym, such as the semynary priests and Jesuyts be."

To counteract the "divelish attempts" of these, Parliament should therefore

"devyse withall spede how every congregacon may have such a mynisterye and Watch placed in it, as by the assistance of the Lord may breed therein sound knowledge, and so take away the ground of the hope of Your Ma^{ties} enemies aforesayd."

To this end it should be enacted:

1. That all unfit ministers be removed, and able men given their places[1].

[1] If it is said this is hard on the unfit ministers, it should be remembered what peril they cause. But their case could be met by granting

2. That the best men in each congregation be made Elders, to assist the minister in admonishing the wayward.

In this way sin would be rooted out and ignorance destroyed, the Queen would learn how many of her people were really disaffected, and the Papists' hope of a "golden day" would be shattered. Discipline is necessary, however, for the present ecclesiastical censures are held in contempt, and, while there are excellent civil laws for the punishment of the body, the soul remains "wholly and universally...without dyscypline." The Queen must remember that the ideal, both in divinity and policy, is "a preacher in every parish," and she must press on towards this end. The execution of the plan could be facilitated in three ways.

(i) In many cases two small parishes could be united.

(ii) The "smallness of maintenance" could be increased

"by reducing home to the ministers use impropriations, wholly if it might be, yf not at least the farming of them at the rate they have bene of ould time valued at in your Ma^ties^ bookes."

(iii) Certain ceremonies &c. which prevent many able men from entering the ministry, might be discontinued. There is no need for these things, and they are Romish and harmful. The Reformed Churches do not use them; they have been the cause of great trouble, and they encourage the Queen's enemies.

Though this proposal is very moderate, it is probable that the Bishops will persuade the Queen not to accept it. There are two reasons for this.

1. They have made the insufficient ministers, and they like well of their own work.

2. They, with the "Deanes and Cathedrall churches men," receive most from the Church, and they see that

"the establishing of universall sufficient ministery...can never be brought to passe...unlesse they be inforced eyther wholy or in greatest part to forgo their impropriations, wherupon a greate parte of many of their livings consists, and the rest, whose livings arise little by impropriations, feare that they shalbe intreated to

them a small pension, and fixing a date by which, if they reached a certain standard of proficiency, they could again enter the ministry.

parte with some of their temporalities to redeeme impropriations to this use."

Seeing, however, that this scheme will banish "all noysome beasts" from the Lord's vineyard, the Queen should let no difficulty prevent her from making it a law during the Parliament.

165. [1584.] "The Generall Inconveniences of the booke of common prayer."

I. "It maintainethe a readinge and insufficient ministerie, as may appeare:—

1. By the quantitie of those things it requireth of him, takinge up so much time as bothe the people are by former tediousnes made unapt to heare, and the mynister especially beinge weake, unable to speake, besides the troublinge of his memorye.

2. By the deepe silence throughout the booke of preachinge, no one word tendinge to move the minister thereunto.

3. By the qualitie of the person supposed in the booke, even suche a one as must be taught when and where to stande, to sit, to kneele, to move, to lift up or let downe his voyce, which bewraieth what manner of man is supposed to be in the ministerie.

4. By the experience of xxvj yeares, wherein the Byshops, who by law are allowed to be the onely resolvers of doubtes in the booke, have made so many hundred ministers able to doe nothinge but to reade, and many even unfit for that.

5. By the experience of grievouse punishment inflicted under collour of lawe upon the painefull preacher, for omittinge, or not daringe for conscience sake to performe all the booke, and contrariwise, the secure state of the unsufficient, protected from punishment and deprivation by observation of the booke."

II. Instead of increasing "holy fayth," the Book encourages Papistry and atheism. It has been "raked out of the filthie puddle of the popishe Lyturgie," and is "a stumblinge blocke to minister and people." It allows non-residency, and breeds contempt and neglect of preaching in ministers and people[1].

III. Coming to "particular faults," seventeen complaints are made against the doctrine taught[2], one of them protesting against the distinction made between bishops and

[1] The Book encourages the minister simply to read the service and not to preach, or to pay a hireling and leave his flock, while if the people seek for preaching and leave their services, they are punished by the Bishops.

[2] The Book is said to favour "the error of Origen, that all men shall be saved."

ministers[1]. The writer concludes this statement of faults with the words:

"That which containeth, nourishethe, or maintainethe suche grosse errors contrary to the word of God, ought to be in all such pointes abolished and reformed. But the booke of common praier dothe this. Ergo."

Then come "other perticular faultes," with the summary:

"That which prophanethe and abusethe the Word, Sacraments, and discipline, makinge men to sin, and breedinge disorder and confusion in the congregacon ought to be reformed...."

The ceremonies and liturgy of the Church nourish superstition and make "Gods commandments of none effect." This is shown:

"1. By the Popish Portuse from whence the greatest part is come, beinge of a superstitious beginninge, and by the experience of 26 yeares, the common opinion the most have of these thinges being considered.

2. By the Lawe which proceedeth with sevearer punishment for the observation of these thinges, sleightlie passing by both abilitie in giftes, faythfull performance of dewtie, and uprightnes of conversation in a minister.

3. By the BB., who by inquisition upon othe, information they care not from whome, punish by suspension and deprivation, threaten with banishment, revile with most reprochfull tearms of Sismatick, heretick, Anab., contemners of Authoritie, factious, seditious, &c., those which, ether in their ministerie for conscience sake omitt the grossest of these ceremonies, being otherwise able, faythfull, and honest, or those which amonge the people leave this little profitable service to seke for edification in the preaching of the Word.

4. By the BB. in making, tolleratinge, and commendinge as honest, quiete men, thousandes of unsufficient in giftes, unfaythfull in their charge through Idlenes and Non residencie, and prophane in conversation.

5. By the people, which abusinge the name of Cesar and Authoritie to the urginge and executinge of these thinges, neither care for the Authoritie of God or Cesar in the greatest matters; for these thinges persecutinge, revilinge, and condemninge their faythfull teachers and honest neighbours, but joyning handes with Pap., Ath[e]ist, Idolator, or dumb doggs which will observe these thinges, and runne with them to the same excesse of ryote."

Therefore Christians must "seke the abolishinge of these thinges."

[1] The distinction between a bishop and an elder ("which they call a priest") is said to be unscriptural, and Acts 20, Phil. 1, 1 Tim. 3, and Tit. 1 are quoted.

166. [.] "Divers abuses to be reformed in the Church of England which have crepte into the Church in the tyme of Poperie: Allowed and meintayned by such as chieflie oughte to seeke the redresse thereof, contrarie to trewe Sinceritie and example of all well refourmed Churches."

"1. The titles of Archbishopps and Archdeacons together with there [*sic*] offices ought to be abolished.

2. The names of lawfull ministers in the church, as of Bishopps and Deacones, seperated from their offyces set forth in Gods Worde, are lykewise to be contempned, and to be brought againe to the doctrine of the Apostles, in that the Bishopps be occupyed in the Word and prayer, and the Deacons in providinge for the poore.

3. As the Bishopps titles of Lordeshipps and honor came from the Pope (even as my Lorde Abbot and my Lord Prior), and therefore without injurie cannot be withholden from hime &c. [ ][1] one of their lyvings maie halfe a dossen lerned prechers be sufficientlie provided for, whereby every shire (at the lest) may have their severall Bishopps.

4. The governemente of the Churche is not to be commytted to the Bishopps Chauncellors or to the Archdeacons officyall or Commissarie, but to a fytt Minister and elder[2] of the congregacon, who ought to determyne of the degrees prohibited in Mariage, of Cases and just causes of Divorse, of the punishmente of Adulterie and fornication, and of all faults subject to Ecclesyasticall discypline accordinge to Gods Worde.

5. The ministers must not be wanderinge abroade, and at libertie, but everie one muste be appointed to one certaine flocke, and not one to have 2, 3, or 4, as is to[o] common at this daie.

6. No man ought to seeke to be in the Ministerie for lyvinge and honour sake.

7. Ministers ought[3] to be made by the authoritie and power of the Bishopps, much lesse in a studie or privie place. But thelection must be by the congregacon.

8. None ought to be admitted to the ministerie which is not fytt to teach, and thei in the ministerie which are not able to teach are to be cleane put out.

9. One and the self same Minister must be of the prayers, of the Word and Sacraments, therefore it shalbe lawfull for none which is not Minister of the Worde openly to saye preers for the congregacon or to minister the Sacramentes.

10. Popishe priests by force of theire admissyon cannot be Ministers of the Ghosple, neither ought Popish preests garmentes to be enjoyned to the Ministers of Christe, either in the Church or abroade.

[1] A blank in MS. [2] (?) "elders."
[3] Obviously "not" is omitted after "ought."

11. Canonycall Scriptures are onelie openly to be read in the Church.

12. All Scriptures must be had in lyke estimacon and reverence, even as all the names of God, therof it is appointed in the Church besyds all reasone either to heare the Gosple standinge, or to bowe the knee, to uncover the hedd at the name of Jesus.

13. The ministerie of the church must be publyke, and so provided that, private prayers and private readinge set aparte, all geve eare to the Minister teachinge prechinge and prayer."

Nos. 14—32 are of less importance.

[14. "The often repeticions of words" &c. are against the Scriptural rule.

15. "The curious synginge and playynge of Gods service by synginge, discant, and playinge one [i.e. on] Organe is a mockerie of Gods trewe worship."

16. It is as lawful to sit at the Communion as to stand or kneel.

17. Even the minister should not administer the Sacraments in private, much less should women do so.

18. "Churchinge of women smelleth of Jewesh purification...."

19. "The confirmacon of children...is superfluous, and smelleth of the vij Popishe Sacraments."

20. "It is mere superstition to marke an Infante with the Crosse...."

21. Various faults in the Order for the Baptism of Infants.

22. Heathenish names for children should be avoided.

23. "It is Papistrie to forbidd marriage at certaine times of the yeare, and then to licence it for money is something more intollerable."

24. It is unlawful to grant licences for marriage "without the knowledge of the congregation."

25. The use of ring in marriage is foolish.

26. Burial of the dead pertains no more to the minister than to the rest of the congregation.

27. "To observe the fast in Lent...is unlawfull and superstitious."

28. "The keepinge of Saints daies is lykewyse unlawfull...."

29. The use of the words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost" is blasphemous.

30. "Kings and Bishops are not to be anoynted with oyle."

31. "The patronages of benefycs together [with] thimpropriations are to be altered. And as fytt Ministers are to be provided, so competente lyvings are to be apoincted to them without daunger of corrupte compact or burthenous payments."

32. "Boy parsones not tollerable."]

"Everie one in his vocation must indevor to have theise things reformed. That is to saie, the Minister by the Word of God, The Magistrate by his aucthoritie accordinge to the Word. And the People by prayer etc."

167. 1584. "A defence of the Bish. of Coventrie and Lichfield[1] his articles against the Archbyshop."

"The particular points of the booke of Articles and advertisements (which were printed and published in everie parish through out the diocesse of Coventry and Lichfield in the late visitation of the B. 1584) namely found fault with and inhibited by the most reverend father in God, the Archb. of Cant. his grace, and afterward by her Ma^ts^ high Commissioners in causes Ecclesiastical, commaunded all forthwith to be revoked and called in, as conteyning a well spring of a pernitious platforme, contrary to the setled estate of our Church, contrarie to law, and contrarie to her Ma^ts^ expresse pleasure and commaundement, togither with the reasons moving the said B. and his officers to publish and put the same in execution, for the better satisfaction of his Grace and others, of their good meanyng in these proceedings, in way of their dutifull excuse or defence, the matters (as may appeare) so hardlie enformed, and so heynouslie taken.

In the articles these enquiries folowing are reproved.

1 Article. Who is the patrone by right or advouson?

The awnswer with the reasons.

The charge of everie Bish., as it is generall and reacheth to every particular parish within his Diocese, so by law he ought to have a watchfull and carefull eye, to foresee by all good meanes possible, especially to advise, admonish, and call upon Patrones, to furnish their places with a sufficient mynistry, which maie as well at many times be at meetings and conferencs, upon other occasions before they fall voide, as presently upon the death of any Incumbent, by earnest letters or otherwise, which commonly cometh in immediatlie to his knowledge, by reason of a sequestration of the fruits, graunted out of the office of Ordinarie course, or some suite likelie to be made for probate of his will, or taking admynistration of his goods. Which can not but be effectual, if the patrone be out of all hope that the B. will neither for feare, friends, or commoditie, admit any unlearned man, and streightlie examine all corrupt and Symonicall compacts, according to law, the Q. Injunctions, and the BB. Canons. And it is one cause why the law graunteth 2 moneths to the Ordinarie, 2 moneths to pause upon a sufficient Clerke Canonicall presented (besides a more carefull and circumspect inquirie and examination of such qualities, as should concurre in so high and weightie a calling, by the lawes of God, and by the lawes Ecclesiasticall), to avoide the hastie and overlight prejudice of the right Patronage, and therfore doth award Inquisitions and proclamations to be awarded for the Ordinaries resolution in the case, which how requisite it is, the chargeable and troublesome suites of Quare impedit, upon greevance offered by the B., doe argue. And though by this enquirie, the certaine Patrone can not sometime peradventure

[1] William Overton. This account of the Bishop's position seems strangely at variance with that recorded in "Certaine points..." [No. 186].

be warranted, yet the Ordinary therby maie take verie good light for the former services, and neede not rashly be abused or deceived. Besides in the 53 Article annexed to her Mat[s] Injunctions, as allso in the B. of London his articles 27, it is namelie enquired, Who is the patrone?"

"Question, art. 1. What the yerely commoditie of everie benefice is, the ordinary charges deducted?

Answer and Reason.

It is mistaken, for the wordes of the article be as folow: (Whether the Incumbent hath any more benefices or ecclesiastical promotions? howe many? and where? If he lie not on his benefice, to whome he letteth his tithes? For what yeerlie commoditie, the ordinarie charges deducted?). It is therfore an enquirie touching non residents onelie, not generall, much differing.

The reasons of the one seeming convenient and necessarie, as well for the dutifull execution of the late Statutes 13°, 14° and 18° of her Mat[s] raigne, made for the restreyning of any leases, but to the mynister, strictly enjoyned the Ordinarie to be seene unto, and necessarie as well for the comfortable maintenance of a sufficient mynisterie, as otherwise in default, beneficiall to the poore. As allso that the Ordinary maye in part judge, by the maintenance allowed the mynister, of the conscience of the Incumbent, and the Curates sufficiencie, upon intelligence wherof he may wiselie deale, to reforme what is amisse, to stop the mouthes of greedie patrones, who pretend thei maie with a better conscience enjoy the surplusage of a good benefice, providing a more sufficient mynister, and yielding a greater stipend for his living, then such mynisters, as beeing Nonresident alltogeather, and lying Idelie in some priviledged place, seldome or never preching, neither performe hospitalitie for the poore, nor can finde in their harts to entertaine liberally a sufficient Curate to instruct the people; a color and speach, though profane in patrones, and all such as sooth them up therin, yet if the Mynisterie give the offence, not sufferable by the Ordinarie, who must remove scandala ecclesiae, according allso to the peculiar provision appointed in that behalf in the Bb. Canons, published 1562. Besides for the considerations mentioned in the 11, 12 and 13 Injunctions, and the 5, 13, and 14 Articles annexed to the saide Injunctions for almes, exhibition to poore schollers, and reparations, this enquirye may seeme tollerable and commendable. And further, it giveth great light to the Ordinarie, for presumption of Simonicall compacts, and to bee more carefull and circumspect, when any such living of good maintenance for an able precher or Universitye man becometh voide, it maie be bestowed upon a worthie man."

"17 Article. What Churchlandes or stocks be remayning?

The article is thus: Whether your Churchlandes stocks or rents be let to the best commoditie, and for such use as thei were first meant, or now are to be emploied or converted, no other waies? Or whether the same be encreased or decayed? by what meanes

Who being Churchwards? Whether anye be behinde with making their accompts? Or be thought not to have made a true, perfect and sufficient account, what landes or stocks should be or are as yet remayning?"

This article is necessary because of the common misuse or misappropriation of monies which should go to the poor men's box, a crime very prevalent "in these parts." Further, these questions help the Bishop to learn of unlawful leases and exchanges. They are based on Articles 22, 27 and 28 annexed to the Injunctions, and on the Canons, which commanded Terriers of all Church lands to be made.

"20 Article. What licenses to marrye have be[en] graunted synce the death of the laste Bishoppe?"

This is necessary to guard against unlawful marriages, and it was an article in the Bishop's first visitation. Especially is the article necessary, because

"there be manie lawlesse Churches (so thei tearme them) in my Diocese, whither disordered persons resort to be married, with counterfaite licences, some framed by Rogues, others that have abused the seale of the office (whether by stelth, or for mony by this meanes it best may be sifted out) for that manie licenses are notoriouslie knowen to have passed the Chancelors seale through out the Country which never passed the Register; a wrong and hinderance to his office, for reformation to be enquired upon; and no marvaile when such as have bene put in trust to keepe and use the Chauncelors seale have heretofore adventured to abuse the same, to order mynisters for mony, confessed on the death bed of the partie in great distresse of conscience, and notoriouslie knowne and published in these partes."

Therefore to prevent "the prophanation of mariage," which is against the laws of God and man, it is necessary for the Bishop to "oversee" all licences, and examine the warrants of all ministers who grant them. The same article is in the Bishop of London's Visitation Articles, and it can be put without inconvenience.

"Article 4. And other some scarce warrantable, as debarring of men from the holie Communion for wante of conference at the mynisters pleasure."

This article is based on the 12th article attached to the Injunctions, and on the "judgment of all learned divines since the light of the gospell," to the effect that the minister is negligent

if he admit any to the Communion who are not "throughlie grounded in the waie and knowledge of his salvation." It is the minister's duty to seek conference with those not qualified to partake of the Sacrament, in order to give them instruction. This article simply asks for the particulars of those who have denied conference, and thus have been refused the Communion.

"In the advertisements these pointes are reproved."

"The establishing of a kinde of signiorie in the persons of 4 men associate to me and mine officers for approbation of Clerks presented; some of which 4 may peradventure be such as my selfe, in respect of want of conformitie to law in force, do mislike of. Allso the streightnyng of the libertie by law graunted the Patrone, who peradventure can not resolve with himself of a Clerke, untill the verie last weeke of the 6 monethes prefixed. Likewise the prejudice hereby growing, to the free libertie of the Archb. judgement, concerninge the sufficiencie or insufficiency of such a Clerke, being thus to be overruled and forestalled, not by the Ordinaries alone, but by 4 other mens opinions: furthermore the inconvenience of charging the mynister to sustaine himself in the place, before he be admitted, wherby allso he may either be readie enough, upon any scope given them to oppose their conceits, against other mens judgements whatsoever, and therfore this smelleth of a kinde of popular approbation and election.

The awnswere with the reasons.

The lamentable weaknes and insufficiencie of the Clergie abroad in all Countries doth crie out for some timelie restraint in such maner, as that patrones mai take publique notice therof and the poore people may be in hope of timely and comfortable reformation: your Grace hath bene carefull of late, for the strengthening of good lawes touching the sufficiency of Clerks to be ordered and instituted, and yet that good lawes without due execution do smally profite, may be considered by the same rules in effect heretofore published, but never observed."

When letters, money, friendship, &c. have enabled unworthy men to obtain benefices, it will be very difficult to stop all corruption at once; "as experience teacheth, aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus[1]," and corrupt clerks and patrons will always be on the look-out to make some simoniacal bargain to the disadvantage and discredit of sound religion. Therefore a bishop who takes four learned and incorrupt men to assist him in the

[1] The Bishop slightly misquotes Horace (*De Arte Poetica*, 358):

"Et idem
Indignor *quandoque* bonus dormitat Homerus
Verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum."

examination of clerks, should be commended and not blamed, for he prevents simony, and yet keeps the power of decision for himself. The use of this system has been recently seen in the case of "one Jennins, presented to your gr. for Churcheton in Staffordshier." Rejected by the Archbishop as unfit, Jennins brought to Lichfield letters from eight Privy Councillors recommending him for admission. The Bishop had him examined, and the result was unsatisfactory; he therefore reported this to the Council, sending at the same time the names of the examiners and a copy of his book of articles and advertisements. The Council accepted the report, but Jennins offered £20 to be admitted without the Bishop's "most exquisite examination" [!]

That men who have refused to subscribe the Archbishop's articles are examiners is not denied, but they are able men who will probably be won to conformity by the trust reposed in them. Loss to the patron is impossible if he wait until the last week of his six months to present, though it is to be considered whether he will wait in order to secure the best man, or as "commonly...because he can not drive his Simonicall part to a covert conclusion." There is nothing in the regulations to "overrule or forestall" the Archbishop's authority, neither is there any fear that the minister's residence among a people before admission will lead to "popular election." It will serve to show the people if he has any notorious vices, and at the same time give the Bishop an opportunity of inquiring into his credentials.

"And if it be grounded upon Gods lawes and Ecclesiasticall, that the want of a sufficient mynistery is not only the nurse of ignorance and poperie, but allso the cause of all Atheisme, disobedience, and dissolutnes of life, for want wherof after so long light of the Gospell the Countries abroad encline more to superstition, poperie, and favouring unlawfull practises then were to be wished, and can not but prove daungerous, if it be not seriouslie looked into and carefullie reformed in time. May it please your gr. for Gods cause and the salvation of their soules for whome Christ hath died, as you have caused good advertisements to be renewed, strengthened, and published for planting a sufficient mynistrie (faithfull execution being the life of everie law), you would vouchsafe to give strength and encouragement to all such as by lawfull meanes strive and endevor to performe the same...."

"The refusall of the mynister to admit to prayers and sacraments a man absolved from his excommunication, unless he shew forth to

him the testification therof under the Ordinaries hand and seale, is a thing not warranted in the mynister, seeing it may otherwise be sufficientlie knowen unto him, and an open windowe to an intollerable exaction, which under this colour maye be levied."

A minister should not re-admit an excommunicated person to the Lord's Table carelessly; the regulation is very reasonable, for the "testification" required can be obtained for fourpence.

"The establishinge of the usuall breade at the Communion, which in the moste temperate opinions is lefte by lawe arbitraryc."

"The ordinance of the booke of Common pr. for usuall fine bread at the Communion was, at the suite of most of the best prechers of my Diocese, established, partlie for conformitie, which prechers acquainted with the superstitious disposition of the Country people, made earnest request for the same, wherabout there had bene such stirrs, mutinies, and open disturbances of obstinate and perverse parishioners, backward in religion, against their painfull and diligent prechers in this diocese, as with much adoe are appeased; wherin if the Injunctions do countermaund the Statute, I will and must most humbly submit my self to her Mat^{s} lawes, howsoever to plucke out of the superstitious harts of this Country people the holy conceit of the wafer cake, the wisest and best affected wish otherwise."

Therefore it is thought best that the Injunction which has been a dead letter for so many years, should not be pressed now. Surely the Ordinaries should decide what is best; if the use is left arbitrary, confusion will result, and many will sink back into superstition.

"Private Baptisme is whollie though covertlie admitted by requiring such cautions, wheras the exigence of the case permitteth no such solempnities or long delaies."

Private baptism is not admitted, but baptism by women and "idolatrous baptizing by creeping Jesuits" are restrained. These "intollerable abuses" are very common in the diocese, and they should not "be any longer winked at or suffered."

"The restraints and limitations for licences being published in printe manie yeers since," could not possibly refer to the Archbishop's recent Advertisements. Their purpose was simply to prevent abuses in the granting of dispensations for banns of marriage.

"All Curates attending a certaine daye appointed after the visitation before the B. and other prechers assisting him, and

exhibiting their former licences to the Ordinary, if so be upon their further triall and examination thei shall appeare in all respects meete for the Congregation, everie circumstance well weighed and duelie considered, then to be continued in their former place and servise, otherwise to have warning to depart, and the Incumbent likewise to have convenient notice to provide him of a more sufficient mynister in a reasonable time."

This regulation is warranted by the Injunctions, by the late Archbishop Grindal's Advertisements, and by Whitgift's own practice of calling in licences. It tends, not to the enriching of officers, but to the purification of the ministry. The reason for the stipulation that licences should refer to a particular congregation and not be general, is

"that many Countries swarme with a number of mynisters going from Country to Country to offer their services, who, having once obteined a generall licence of any B. or Chauncelor to serve in that Diocese, under color to seeke service therby going from place to place in miserable sorte, breede a sclaunder and contempt to their calling, and are made a common pointing and jesting stocke to the scornefull adversarie of religion and Atheist."

This again brings benefit to the church, and not gain to the officers. It compares well with "your officers evill example in your Gr. late metropoliticall Visitation of my Diocese," when all licences were renewed indiscriminately, without any examination or trial of the holders thereof, provided they were well paid for.

"Seing therfore no one peny cometh to the B. or his Chauncelor by this advertisement and painfull and necessarie execution of the same, I hope your Gr. will alter your judgement."

The points concerning conformity which the Archbishop required could not be added to the "first printed articles and advertisements" for shortness of time, but it is notorious throughout the diocese "who have subscribed and who not." On this matter many people are ready to complain of their preachers, so there is no need of articles of inquiry.

"Mine humble suite is to your Gr. and other her Ma^{ts} Commissioners in causes Ecclesiasticall, who have beene...more hardly enformed against these articles and advertisements and other my proceedings then I hope shall be found justlie deserved: that it would please your wisdomes to consider of the miserable and superstitious estate of these parts, and the daunger wherin any that

favour the Gospel and will folow her Ma^ts^ service faithfullie and effectuallie do live: and further to weigh what a contempt it will bring to mine authoritie for ever hereafter, what a triumph to the enemie of religion and discouragement to such as favour the gospell, if I should hastilie revoke and dissanull all the former book of articles and advertisements: wherin if there were conteined any such daungerous and fond innovations (as it pleaseth you upon some hard collection, insinuation, or suggestion of others to inferre in your letteres), yet I doubt not but in your wisdomes and good discretion, you would thinke it more convenient (the Visitation being now ended), thei should be forgotten and dye of themselves by forbearing the execution rather then with so notorious infamy and disgrace to be called in."

Already Papists and wicked men have begun to rejoice, and therefore the Commissioners should restrain them, and encourage loyal subjects. Seeing that the Council accepted the articles and advertisements, it is to be hoped that the Commissioners will do likewise, for the need of them is very great,

"especiallie in our parts, where is weake assistance, prechers not manie, and thei for the most part discouraged, Jesuits encrease, and their service which pursue them publiquelie and privatelie reproched, and the knowen obstinate papists and factor for the papist never so insolent."

168. [1584.] The Supplication of Walter Travers to the Council.

Walter Travers and Richard Hooker were candidates for the Mastership of the Temple in 1584. Thanks to Whitgift's support, Hooker obtained the post, and for long afterwards a controversy was maintained between the two divines[1]. Travers eventually was silenced by the Archbishop, and this supplication is a plea for restoration, and for the full recognition of his Orders (those of the Reformed Church of the Low Countries).

The Supplication was printed in Oxford in 1612 (again 1618), and Hooker's reply was issued at the same time. They are both reprinted in Hanbury's *Hooker*, III. 335 ff.

169—71. [1584.] 1. "An humble supplication to our Sovereigne Queene Elizabeth."

[1] Accounts of this are in all the histories. See Strype, Fuller, Neal, Brook, &c.

1. Most Gratious Queene Elizabeth, our Liege Ladie,
We, your poore subjects in great bondage through the land,
With humbled harts and soules are forcéd for to crie
Beseeching your good Grace our cause to understand.
It is the foode of life, Gods word, which we do want,
Which makes us all for to lament good preaching scant.

2. We had of late disperst abroad in each countrie
Some godlie, learned, painful messengers indeede,
Who with all diligence their office did applie
And taught the Word of God wheron our soules did feede.
But now those shining lamps are clean extinguishéd
And we thro' want of foode are allmost famishéd.

3. In manie places of this land it is most true,
We have no preaching of the Lord his holie day,
Save at the most some quarter sermons as our due,
Wherwith we must content ourselves, there is no naie.
For if we seeke for foode unto our soule elswhere,
Then are we sure therfore to paie exceeding deare.

4. The Bps. sumners then doe cite us all apace
And charge us verie sore to make ourselves readie,
With speede for to appeare before their Lordships grace,
Where first we must paie fees, there is no remedie.
The Bps. aske us then what subjects we have bene,
For to refuse our Church commaunded by the Queene.

5. We answer that our own Curates cannot preach,
Which is the onelye cause why we doe further seeke.
We humblie crave to have such guides as can us teach,
And will performe the same at least once everie weeke.
And for their diligence we promise for to give
Good maintenance wherby thei maie the better live.

6. The Bps. forthwith aske what shall our curats doe,
Or what allowance shall thei have to live upon.
We saie we thinke it best that out of hand thei goe
To their old trades or learne some occupation.
Then did thei storm with angrie moode, saying that we
Would have all vicars thro the land beggars to be.

7. We awnswer no, but you, my Lords, are mercilesse,
In that you do prefer their state and standing here,
Yea, smaller things as all you[r] dealings do expresse,
Before our soules their health which Christ hath brought so deare.
Els would you not thrust forth good preachers out of place,
Els would you not but pitie this our wofull case.

8. The Bps. then with one consent did all agree
That we should keepe our parish church and go to hell.
Or for default therof in prison for to lie,
O cruell men for to profes Christ his Gospel.
Thus with their children for to deale so extreamelie
God graunt them true repentance here before thei die.

9. Thus have we made a just report, most noble Queene,
Of that most lamentable state which we are in.
Beseeching your Highnes to heare when we complain
Least that for want of foode we perish in our sinne.
Remember how this want did force your Christ to weepe
When he beheld Jerusalem as wandring sheepe.

10. And sith you have proclaiméd now a Parliament
For to reform all things amisse in each degree.
Good Queene with all your Lords agree in one consent
That over everie church a faithfull guide maie be.
That with renownéd Joshua Your Majestie
Maie saie, O Lord, I and my folke will all serve thee.

11. Then shall God bless your raigne with much felicitie;
Then shall all traitors soone be caught or flee the land;
Then shall Poperie decaie and all iniquitie;
Then shall you rule by Christ, and in his favour stand.
Then shall we praie to God to guide your majestie
That you maie live and die in Christ to raigne eternallie.

Your Highnes most bounden dailie Orators, the poore Commons of your flourishing realme of England.

[1584.] 2. "The renewing of the crie of the poore to the Parliament."

Yet once againe, most noble Lords and worthie Commoners,
We praie you all to our just plaints to lend your listening eares.
Our painfull teachers thro the land that prech to us Gods will
Are subject now to all reproofe and put to silence still,
That now our famine doth increase and prophesie decaie,
Wherby our soules for lacke of foode do pine and weare awaie,
So that we feare the wrath of God will soone consume us all
Except with speede we do provide for to prevent our fall.
Now therfore seeing once againe God giveth you this grace,
For Prince and native Countries good to meete in publike place;
O then consider in your mindes what God doth first require
His kingdome chieflie to advaunce with all your whole desire.
Which kingdome you all know is this, the preaching of his word,
That all the people in the land maie know him to be Lord,
And by the knowledge of His will learne due obedience,
To God and their owne Princes laws, to live without offence.

The lacke wherof (as heretofore we gave to understand),
Hath bene and is the cause why sinne doth raign throughout the land.
And God can not, as he is just, but justlie punish sinne,
Except we all renounce her waies and come no more therin.
In tender care wherof we crave for Jesus Christ his sake,
This one thinge needfull to redresse, some statute now to make,
Which is to purge the ministrie of everie faithlesse guide,
And godlie learned painfull men in their roomthes to provide.
That so religion maie encrease, and God our peace maintaine,
The chiefest cause why our good Queene desireth still to raigne.
We doe confesse your care is great our bodies to relieve,
Now be as carefull for our soules due foode to them to give.
Gods will is we should have the same, to comfort rich and poore,
And so of faithfull learnéd men, he hath sent us good store.
O let them all be set on worke, the harvest sure is large,
And those that cannot feed our soules let them forsake their charge.
Alas, what shall it profit us all worldlie wealthe to gaine,
And after death thro ignorance, in torments to remaine.
If Abells bloud for vengeance cried, and did procure the same,
O then the murther of our soules must needes bring endles shame.
Consider this, ye that are wise, and seeke your soules to save,
Least that as guiltie of our woe, yourselves like judgements have.
The lord we know is mercifull and to us all most kinde,
And hath of late exprest the same, as we all wisht in minde.
But can he not raise up the like or worse to vex us all,
Yes, yes, ye know all power is his, he ruleth great and small.
Let this be then a warning piece to move us all with speede
To shew more thankfull harts to God, and to repente indeede,
Or els to looke for greater plagues then we as yet did see,
Upon our land and Queene to fall, God blesse Her Majestie.
Assuredlie this is most true, more mercie God doth shew,
And lesse obedience that we yeeld, more vengeance shall ensewe.
O then defer no longer time, some statute to provide
That everie Church forthwith maie have a learned painfull guide,
That we maie all be taught to know, how we in peace may live,
Obedience due to God and Queene hereafter for to give.
Our suite you see is reasonable, then doe not it denie,
It is the onelie thing we crave, a learned ministrie.
Which, if it please you to procure, you shall discharge your love
To God, to Queene, and to us all, and manie woes remove.
The lord of heaven that hath your harts to guide in his owne hand,
Direct the same to graunt our suite, which now you understand.
That manie yeers our Queene maie raigne, and we still live in peace,
Amen, Lord Jesus, graunt the same, and so our joyes encrease.

[1584.] 3. "A view of the B. extreme proceedings against their brethren, the godly and painfull prechers throughout the whole Realme for trifles, and of their open Countenancing of capitall sinnes, in mainteyning of the graceles insufficient mynistry, with a confutation of their frivilous reasons in defence therof, advertising them with speede to reforme the same at this Parliament, as thei tender Gods glory, the honour of her ma^{ty}, the good estate of this land, and their owne salvation."

All you that will be calléd Lordes, yea gratious Lordes, and lor[d]ship beare
Over your felow labourers (against Gods word), marke well and heare.
What is the cause you do suspend your painfull brethren through the land,
Yea, some of them disgrace, displace, and leave their flocks to spoiling hand?
Is it because thei could not prech, or would not labour as they oughte?
Is it because their lives were bad, or their owne gaine or pleasure sought?
Nay, God forbid that any such should be detected of such sinne,
What then? Some cause you will pretend, why you so rigorous have bene.
Forsooth they have not duely kept the orders in your praier booke,
But left out crossing, or perhaps, the Ring in mariage, if you looke,
Or els it may be some refuse, to call you gratious lordes indeede,
Oh, these be monstrous sinners, sure, that must be rooted out with speede.
But if a man might be so bold, to aske your Lordships in your care,
Why you do suffer swarmes of such, the names of mynisters to beare,
Who have no gifts to edifie, yea, men detect of wicked life,
Drunckardes, whoremongers, usurers, wherof the Country is full rife,
Yea, worse then these, Idolaters, and some knowen Conjurers by name,
What awnswer could you make therto, but for to blush for very shame?
If you will say there is none such, remayning in the mynistrie,
An hundred witnes may be brought, to prove the same in each Country.
Is it more great and grievous sinne, your loftie titles to refuse,
Or some few small Ceremonies, by law appointed, not to use,

Then for to breake the law of God, which every soule ought to obey,
Or to maintaine such wicked men, in publique office still to stay?
If this be not to streine the gnat, and swalow down the camell great,
Let every Christian judge therof, that hateth sinne and fears Gods threat.
O then, my lordes, restraine your wrath, to wrecke yourselves in your own cause,
And first before you deale so hard, let reason force you for to pawse.
Consider deeplie in your mynde, whether Gods glory maybe more,
To have his Gospell trulie taught, to all his people rich and pore.
Or thei to wante that foode of life, and you to have your titles still,
Consider whether of these waies agreeth better in Gods will.
Againe, consider, I you pray, whither the greater losse should be
For you to lacke the saide titles, or thousandes die eternallie.
Consider likewise whether you by vertue of Gods holie worde
May crave such titles at their hands, or rule them by your Civill sworde.
Consider allso by the same, whether all thinges indifferent
Ought to be forced in Church orders or to be free as most decent.
Consider well if any rite, deviséd by the Pope of Rome
Ought to remaine within our Church, or be mainteinéd yet of some.
If these be matters disputable, and undecided lawfullie,
Whie do you not conclude the same before you deale so cruellie?
Admit your titles were but due, and all things lawfull you require,
If any will not yield the same, must ye revenge your wrathfull ire?
Davids example was not such, when Shimei curst him to his face,
He rather turnd it to his sinnes, and forthwith sought for better grace.
Ought you not likewise to let fall your titles to the very ground
Then by revenge the worde of God, by faithfull prechers should not sound?
Ought you not rather to forbeare with patience, then seeke your will
To stop their mouthes, and so therby, innumerable soules to spill?
O then your sinne is verie great, in dealing so despitefullie,
Against the Lords true messengers, and that without just matter whie.
Some of you prech that all is well, and discipline establishéd
In such good forme as in no point, it can at all be betteréd.
Some of you, having better grace, confes indeed ther is great want
And namely that throughout the land, the preching of Gods word is scant.

But then, you adde, there is no hope, to see it bettered in this land,
For divers reasons of great force, as you would beare us all in hand :—
First that these mynisters we have are qualifiéd by the lawe,
Therfore can not be displaced, and if thei co[u]ld, yet mercie shewe.
The second, if thei were eject, there were not prechers to be found
For to supplie the roumes of such within the lists of English ground.
The third if prechers could be had, yet livings lacke in everie shier,
So that for their great diligence, thei should reape but a simple hier.
For awnswer to the first reason, let this suffice that as by lawe
Thei stand for good, so by the like, thei may be found not worth a strawe.
As for your pitie, it is sinne, for to preferre their standing here,
Before the health of thousand soules that Christ himself hath bought so deare.
Your second reason seemeth straunge, to stop the mouthes of good prechers,
And then to crye aloude and saie, there wanteth faithfull labourers.
Wheras yourselves are cause therof, as you in truth can not denie,
Restore them first, and call for moe, and see if God will not supplie.
Your third reason is like the last, you kepe Church livings in your hand
And yet you crie that Church robbers have allmost spoiléd all the land.
There is one Church, in Lancashier, that called is by name Whalley,
Which hath belonging therunto, nine other Churches, I dare say,
All in my L. of Lambethes handes, yet most of them have not by yere,
Past £6 both by meate and way, how can a precher live well there?
Plucke first the beame from your owne eies, and so shall you the clearer see,
For to direct others aright to serve our God in each degree.
And do not seeke your honour still, against the honour of the Lorde,
But rather strive with all your might for to advaunce his saving worde.
Touching the Common prayer booke, let that allso be revieweđ,
Shall Gods worde daily bide the touch, and may not that be polishéd?

Let Discipline be stablishéd, according to Gods holy lawe,
Then shall not sinne abounde so much, but everie soule shall stande in awe.
If thus you seeke with humble herts, your former slacknes to repent,
And now a better course set downe, at this same present parliament,
Then God will prosper all your waies, and blesse us all eternally,
Then shall our Queene Elizabeth raigne still with much felicity.
But if you have no care at all, to plant prechers in every place,
That everie Church may forthwith have a painfull guide endued with grace;
Assuredlie you will bewray, you seeke yourselves and not the lorde,
And make your names throughout the world, for evermore to be abhorde.
Yea, more, ye then abuse the Q., and make her sinne exceedinglie
If that you move her not with speede, to purge the bad mynisterie.
But most of all, ye shall betray Christ Jesus in his members here,
That ye suppliéd not their wants, for which ye shall once pay full dere.
God graunt us true repentance all, while he doth offer us mercie,
Least that we perish in his rage, and be destroyed eternallye.

172. [.] "M^r^ Negus. Essex."

I. "The cause of my suspension was only this. Beinge convented before the B. at Wittham, and there by him demaunded whether I had worne the surplice since my cominge to Lee. My answere was that as I had not worne yt, so I had never refused yt, for there was none offered, nor any in the parish to be worne. He further asked me if I would weare yt if it were provided. My answere was, I desired his favoure that I mighte proceede in my ministery untill such time as there were a surplice made, and that he knewe I refused to weare yt. He, not satisfied with this answere, urged mee to saye I would weare yt, or I would not. But I, standinge to my former answere, and desiringe that it mighte be accepted, he conclused thus, seinge yow will not promise to weare yt, we will suspend yow till yow will.

Whatsoever the godly brethren shall agree upon concerning a supplication for the libertie of us, the ministers suspended, to be put upp at this present parlament, I willingely, as if I were present, do assent thereunto.

By me, William Negus."

II. "The request of us, the Inhabitants of the towne of Leigh to our pastor, M^r^ Negus."

Wee as [? are] fully perswaded in our harts that God hath sent you and sett yow over us to be our sheepheard to feed us with spirituall foode of our soules,

It is our great greife that your mouth is shutt up, and that we are deprived of our spirituall comforte, for wee knowe that in time, if it continue, yt wilbe our ruine. Wee do also understand that your libertie maye be redeemed only by wearinge the surplice at some times, and that you shall not be urged any further. It is a thing which we wishe with all our harts, if it pleased God and our prince, were removed. But yet we take yt not to be a matter of such weighte, as that to the hazarde of our souls and losse of our spirituall comforte, the not wearinge of yt should deprive us of your ministerye, for then we looke to have such an one thrust upon us, that we shall be constrained to beare with greater things then the surplice, and want our godly instruction. We wishe rather to beare with that, and to have your teachinge, then to beare not only that, but much more, and to be without teachinge. We do therefore intreat yow as you tender our soules, and as yow regarde that accounte which you must make unto God for them, not to forsake us for such a trifle. If it fall out that yow be urged hereafter to such matters as a good conscience cannot yeld unto, then we take it that yow are discharged before God.

Your hungrie sheep

Rob. Salmon	William Bonner	William Goodlad
William Smyth	John Harris	Tho. Wilkin
William Simmes	John Clearke	Nicholas Coult
William Rawlin	Henry Rawlin	Tho. Bredcake
John Tyler	Radulfe Person	Benjamin Cocke
John Goodlad	Abraham Rawlin	Lawrence Moore
Robert Bower	Tho. Seaborough	Widow Kelsham
William Hare	William Chapman	Widow Barret
Rych. Chester	Tho. Peele [? Peeke]	Widow Morse.
John Skinner		

173. [.] "A true reporte of the first conference at Lambeth had in presence of the R.H. the Earle of Leicester, the L. Gray, and Sir Fra. Walsingham betweene 2 Bish., which were the Archb. of Cant. and the Bish. of Winch. and 2 mynisters, M^{r} D^{r} Sparke and M^{r} Travers, concernyng things needfull to be reformed in the booke of Common prayer."

[Apparently written by Walter Travers.]

"First the Archb. began to declare:—Wheras my L. of Leycester had requested for his satisfaction in such points of the booke of Common prayer as were called into question, that he might here [*sic*] what the mynisters did reprove, and how such things were to be awnswered, he had graunted my L. to procure such to come thether for that purpose, as might seeme best to his good L., and now, I perceive, said he, you are the men whome my L. is

desirous to heare; of whome the one I never sawe nor knewe before (meanyng M^r^ D^r^ Sparke), the other I knowe well. Let us heare what the things are in the booke of Common praier which you thinke ought to be amended; you appeare not nowe judiciallie before me, nor come not as called to question by authoritie for these things, but by waye of conference to object what you have to say against the booke, that it maye be awnswered. For which cause it shall be free for you (speaking in dutie) to charge the booke with such matter as you suppose to be blameworthie in it. Which speache of the Archb., being likewise affirmed by my L. of Leicester, M^r^ D^r^ Sparke made awnswer to this effecte:

That we gave most humble and hartie thanks to Allmighty God, and to that H. presence, that after so many yeers, wherin our cause could never be admitted to any indifferent hearing, it had pleased God of his gratious goodnes, so to dispose, that we had now that equitie and favour shewed us, that before so H. personages, as might be worthie meanes to hir most excellent ma^ty^ for the reformation of such things as were to be redressed, it was now lawfull for us, with that convenient libertie and freedome which had bene promised us, to declare what points of the booke had neede to be revisited [*sic*, revised] and reformed. Which our endevour, because it concerned the service of God and the satisfaction of such as were in authoritie, and for that the good issue of it depended upon the favor of God, he desired that before we entered anie further, we might first seeke for gratious direction and blessing of God by prayer.

At which words, framing himself to begin to pray, the Archb. interrupted him, saying he should make no prayers there, nor that place a conventicle.

Then M^r^ Travers, joyning with M^r^ Sparke, desiring that it might be lawfull for them to praye before thei proceeded any further, that it was verie convenient, for the better preparation of our selves, and of all that were present, to a reverend regard, in speaking and hearing of the things which were to be dealte withall.

But the Archb. not yielding ther unto, continuing to terme it a conventicle if anye such prayer were suffered to be made, My L. of Leic. and Sir Fra. Walsingham willed M^r^ Sparks[1] to content himself, seing thei doubted not but that we had prayed allreadie before our coming thither. Therfore M^r^ Sparke, leaving to use any such prayer as he had prepared, made a shorte sweete praier in verye fewe but gratious words, notwithstanding the Archb. ceased not to interrupt his speach with like words as he had used before. Which so finished, a litle after hee began againe to speake in this maner.

M^r^ Sparke. The points of the booke which we mynde to stand upon we referre speciallie to two.

Wherof the first containeth such matters as concerneth the books appointed to be read in the Churche for holy Scripture, and the second the doctrine of the Sacraments.

[1] MS. varies between Sparke and Sparks.

Touching the books we are to speake of the Canonicall and of the Apocrypha. And of the Canonicall we have 2 things to shew, wherein concerning them we esteeme the booke not to agree with the worde of God. Wherof the first is, the disgrace done to the Canonicall Scriptures, in that some part of them are appointed not to be read, which being so appointed by the booke, is grievouslie punishable by Statute, if anie thing be done or used otherwise. Now that the mynister should be liable to a great punishment for reading such chapters we thinke it can not stande with the worde of God.

Further thei are saide by the saide booke to be appointed not to be read as least edifying, and which may best be spared. Wherunto being added that certaine chapters out of the Apocrypha are appointed to be read for them, and to be read as holie scripturs and parts of the Old Testament,...which cannot be intended but to be for the contrary reason, that is that thei edifie more, and can lesse be spared, wherby the Apocrypha are made equall, nay, are preferred before the Canonicall.

We suppose these points, for all these respects, can not be justified by Gods worde.

To this the Archb. awnswered that the books called Apocrypha were indeede partes of the holy scripture and of the Old Testament, that thei had bene used to be read in the Church in auncient time, and that thei might and ought to be now read amongest us.

Wherunto M^r^ Travers replied that the title of holy scripture is the peculiar stile wherby the holy Ghost distinguisheth the Canonicall Scriptures of the Old Testament from the Apocrypha and from all writings (Rom. 1[2]). Further that such are onelie holie scripturs as are given by inspiration from God, the holie ghost inspiring holie men of God, by whome thei were delivered unto us...(2 Tim. 3; 2 Pet. 1).

Here the Archb. awnswered that the Apocrypha were likewise given by inspiration from God, as were allso whatsoever the heathen had writen well.

Wherunto M^r^ Tr. replied that in a generall sense of the worde Inspiration it was true that he had saide of the Apocrypha, for so the Apostle...teacheth, that no man saieth, Christe is the Lord, but by the holie ghost. And in another place it is saide the infinite varietie of gifts, mynisteries, and operations, is of one and the same spirit, which giveth to everie man according as it pleaseth him.

But here, saide he, is a question of such an inspiration as did so whollie carie (as the Apostle Peter speaketh) and governe the holie men of God so inspired, as that in reporting and setting downe these holie writings thei were exempted from all possibilitie of error, in which sence the holie are saide to be holie scripturs, and given by inspiration from God, as proceeding from the holie ghost first, and then from holie men so fullie possessed and inspired by him as it were not possible for them to erre in that service; and therfore not in some parte onelie, but thorough out and in everie parte and respecte divine and holye: which agreeing neyther to the Apocrypha

nor to any other writings whatsoever, but onelie to the Canonicall Scriptures, it remained strong against him, which he had affirmed, that it standeth not with Gods worde that the booke of Common prayer doth as generallie and indifferentlie call the Apocrypha holie scriptures and partes of the old testament as it doth the Canonicall, and much more, that it preferreth some part of them before some of the Canonicall, as more edifying, and which maie lesse be spared.

The Archb. awnswer to this was that we could not shewe anye error to be in the Apocrypha, that thei have bene held for holye scriptures by the auncient fathers, and so vouched and cited by them, as namelie by Ciprian and by Augustine and divers other from the beginnyng of Christs Churche, so allwaies esteemed, and therfore read in the Churche unto this daye.

Wherunto M^r^ Tr. replied that notwithstanding it were so, that the Apocrypha books could not be touched with any error—which after by good proofe would fall out otherwise—yet the authors of them were not so whollie directed by God in the writing of them but that they might have erred, which made an infinite difference betweene them. He added further, that thei had not allwaies caried that credite in the Church which he had spoken of, as appeareth both by other, and namelie by Jerome, who declareth what reckoning the Churche made of them, and himself freelie calleth some of them fictions and fables.

To this he saide that Jerome had made question of them, so other had made question of some of the Canonicall, and that we could not be ignorant what Eusebius and some of the Councells had judged of the matter. So that, (saide he), if men would cavill, thei might make a question upon the reason of the Canonicall, wherby it appeared that this doubting of the Scriptures was a daungerous way for Atheisme to enter in by among us.

Which speach of so unequall comparison provoked M^r^ Travers to saye that he supposed these writings (which are of so divers kindes) to be equall, and so much more to preferre the Apocrypha afore the Canonicall, not to be farre from blasphemie, the difference of honour being as great betweene the one and the other, as betweene humane and divine writings, and in respecte of the authors of them, as betweene God and man.

Where the Archb. willing him not to be so hastie, M^r^ D^r^ Sparke replied that the reading of them had bene forbidden by Councells, and namelie Laod. 3.

To which the Archb. awnswered that so that Councell declared the Apocalyps to be Apocrypha, which if he would have to be of authoritie in the one, he was allso to graunt it in the other.

M^r^ D^r^ Sparke replied that the Apocalyps had other evidente proofe, to show it to be Canonicall, but this testimonie declared that to be untrue which he hadde saied, of the use of the auncient Churche to reade them.

Then the Archb. willed us to come [to] the errors of the Apocrypha, for, saide he, thether you will come, as good earlie as late.

Mr Dr Sparke said he would, but he had first to shew another thinge, touching the Canonicall Scripturs, which was the mistranslation of them. Thus when we had doubled this pointe, we began to enter into the next reatche, which was not long. In the entrance wherof Mr Sparke saide, that notwithstanding it were hard to have any translation in which no want might be found, yet it was verie meete that of all translations extant, the best should be appointed to be read in the publique assemblies of the Churche. Now, saide he, wheras we have divers translations of the holie scriptures, that which in the booke is appointed to be read is the worst, and to be charged with sundrie grosse and palpable errors[1]....

To all which replie, no other awnswer being made, but the same which had bene before, and the LL. desiring to heare some other matter then this, which required some skill in the tongues, and the B. taking likewise small pleasure in it, and making hast to come to the objections of the errors in the Apocrypha, for which thei thought thei were better prepared to make their awnswer, Mr Sparke, with this consent, as with tide and winde, was caried on to the discoverie of the errors in the Apocrypha, and so we come to the same."

The first "error" raised was in regard to Ecclesiasticus 46, where Samuel is said to have prophesied after his death. After a discussion[2],

"my L. of Leic. asked if that chapter were one of those which are appointed by the Booke to be read out of the Apocrypha, which the Archb. confessed. Then my L. Gray prayed the Archb. to awnswer a thing, which he moved, not for argument, but to be satisfied and instructed in it, which was, what error the people might be in daunger to learne by the hearing of this read, and by the believing of it? And whether it were an errour to thinke that the witches had power to raise the bodies of the dead? To which he making none other awnswer, but that it was a question among the learned whether they have any such power or no, and no further replie at that time being made unto it, Mr Sparke sailed forward, and touched next with the 9th of Judith."

Sparke held that this chapter was contrary to Genesis 49, and debate again followed. Travers made the final speech and

[1] As an example, Sparke pointed out that in Matt. 1, where all other translations rightly had "Mary was betrothed to Joseph," the translation appointed read "Mary was married to Joseph." On this a long discussion ensued, Travers maintaining that the mistranslation failed to emphasise Mary's virginity.

[2] In the discussion, the Archbishop "read out of his note-book...the exposition of some writer, I think of Peter Martyr."

"this my L. of Leic. confirmed to be true and the rest acknowledged in like manner. With which speeches we passed by the Apocrypha and began to enter into private Baptisme."

Sparke's indictment of private baptism was that it was not

"agreeable to the word of God in sundrie respects: first, for the place, which is private; nexte for the persons, allso private, as being lay men, as we call them, nay women, as may appeare to be intended by the booke; then for such a case of necessity as is there supposed, and last of all, for the doctrines whence this practise is come, which are, that the children not baptized should be in danger of damnation, and that the outward bapt. with water, even for the worke wrought, saveth the childe that is baptized."

The Archbishop held that the book did not appoint women to baptize, but accepted as lawful baptism administered by them in necessitous cases. At this point,

"the night came so fast upon us as the LL. being willing to rise, he could goe noe further, and we were faine allso to put into land before we had runne half our course. So the LL. departed and the conference of the first day finished."

"The second day when my L. Tres. was allso present and the Archb. of Yorke in place of the B. of Wintchester.

The Archb. of Caunterburie beganne with the rehearsall of the points debated the first daye, and after required us to proceede in objectinge what we had further to saye.

Then M[r] D[r] Sparks, having observed the repetition to have bene made to the disadvantage of the good cause, rehearsed it againe, noting what things he had omitted, and howe he had not satisfied the matters which had been objected, by which occasion then, as by a contrary winde, allreadie a good way upon the voiage, we were cast backe againe, and touched againe at all the places where we had bene afore. Which was rather done because my L. Treasurer had not bene at that conference the first day, and was desirous to enforme himself of the matters that had bene objected. Wherin leaving the rep[et]ition of the same things, it shall be needfull onelie to note those points which were further added by occasion the second day."

As to the Apocrypha, Travers claimed that writings not quoted by Christ could not be "Holie Scripture," but the Lord Treasurer refused to accept this as a sound argument. The question whether Jesus cited all the prophets was then discussed, and from this Sparke again turned to the mistranslation of the Scriptures. The Archbishop pointed out that here he was at a disadvantage, as he knew no Hebrew, while Sparke

and Travers were both proficient. After reconsideration of Ecclus. 46 and Judith 9, the subject of private baptism was introduced. "The presence seemed to agree unto" the statement of Travers, that baptism by one who was no minister was no Sacrament, but a profanation of the Sacrament, but the Archbishop maintained his former position with regard to baptism by women.

"My L. Treasurer saide he thought indeede, when the booke was made, that the practise in this land was such, and so knowne to bee. The Archb. of Yorke following said he disalowed it, and had forbidden it in all his Diocese, that he had spoken to the Q. of Engl. of it, and would not suffer it, speaking very earnestly in the matter[1]. Then for the case of necessitie the Archb. of Cant. awnswered that Calvin against the Anabaptists held Bapt. to be necessarie, and reproved the Anabapt. for deferring it so long. To whom M^r^ Travers replied that Calvin did not otherwise judge Bapt. necessarie, then so as it might not of contempt or negligence be omitted, wherof he condemned the Anabapt. for deferring so long. He added further:—other necessitie then that which excludeth contempt and negligence is not acknowledged, neither by him, nor by any other professing the Gospell, and that generallie all the Churches of our profession condemned anie other case of necessitie."

Whitgift maintained that the Articles showed that the Church of England did not believe that baptism was necessary to salvation, and Travers agreed with this, though he continued to maintain that the practice of baptism by women, "and the tying of grace to the outward sacrament" contradicted the belief expressed in the Articles.

"Here my L. of Leic. saide he would remember M^r^ Sparke of some other matter, as of the Interrogatories in publique Bapt., and of the Crosse."

A very long controversy concerning the "Interrogatories" followed, the main question being whether the godfather could answer the questions for the child.

"Then came we to the Crosse, against which M^r^ Sp. objected the Ceremonies taken from the Heathen, and thei which have no necessarie use were not to be retained; for which purpose he alleadged Deut. 7. and 12., with sundrie other places.

To which my L. Treasurer awnswered that this was not of the

[1] Apparently these words refer to the Archbishop, not to the Queen.

Heathen, nor of the papists, but afore poperie used in the primitive Churche, being a matter of greater mysterie then commonly was thoughte, as that the Christians gloried in the Crosse, wherwith thei were reproched by the Heathen as by a thinge ignominious and shamefull.

To this M^r^ Tr. replied that Ceremonies were thei never so auncient and of never so good institution by men, yf thei were abused to Idolatrie, and were of no necessarie use, were to be abolished."

Travers continued his argument by claiming that just as the brazen serpent had to be destroyed when it led to idolatry, so the use of the Cross ought to be abolished, and he concluded:

"there is added to the Crosse in Bapt. a signification and doctrine which can not stand with the worde of God: for it is not lawfull for the Church to institute mysticall rits and ceremonies, that is, with signification of doctrine annexed unto them, this being a kinde of Sacrament, which no man maie institute. And this...is not any private or singular opinion of our owne, but sette downe by the famous and worthie Churches, as appeareth in the observations annexed to the Harmony of the confessions of the Churches[1].

The Archb. of Cant. answered nothing to this so grave and reverend testimony of the Churches, but onelie that we were wont to finde faulte with dumbe ceremonies, and that now we blamed those that had any signification. He added further that M^r^ Beza did leave the Churches their liberty in using the Crosse, which my L. Treasurer saide was wiselie done.

Then M^r^ Tr. saide, M^r^ Beza did godlie and wiselie in that he would not condemne the Churches which used it, nor prejudice their libertie by his judgement, but...his opynion is cleare with us, that it ought to be abolished; nay, further, he giveth Counsell to the mynisters rather to forgoe their mynistry then to subscribe to the allowance of it.

Here my L. of Leic. saide it was a pitifull thing that so many of the best mynisters and painfull in their preching, stood to be deprived for these things.

To whome M^r^ Tr. saide, my L., we acknowledge the peace of the Churche ought to be dearer unto us then our lives, but with your L. good favour, I must needes saie, in conscience to God and in the dutie I owe to her moste excellent Ma^ty^, to your good LL.. and to this whole Church and State, that the mynisters in so doing have done well, and ought not to have yielded, though thei were to be put from their mynisterie, the matters being such which thei were required to subscribe unto, as your L. hath partlie heard and partlie is further to be shewed."

After touching on private communion and the apparel of

[1] See above, p. 196 n.

ministers[1], Leicester asked if the Puritans "had any other points materiall of doctrine."

"The Archb. of Cant. saide, yea, we would call the Bbs. authoritie and jurisdiction into question and other thinges.

Then Mr Tr. saide, he had to object against the booke the allowing and justifying of an insufficient mynistrie, which...is directlye against the worde, for which purpose he alledged 1 Tim. 3, that a B. (which is everie mynister) ought to be able [to] teach; Tit. 1, and such like.

Here my L. Treasurer asked what Scripture ther was, that he that should mynister the Sacrament must needes be a preacher?

Mr Tr. awnswered Matt. 28.—Goe forth, preach and baptize—which Christ having so joyned togither, it was not lawfull for men to put asunder. He added further that it was not our private opynion, but the universall doctrine and practise of all the Churches of the gospell.

Wherin the Archb. saying that he misenformed the company, for that the French Church had allowed in the beginnyng some such.

Mr Tr. awnswered that he spake of the doctrine and discipline of the Churches, which he held universally to be such as he had saide, till he shewed the contrarie.

Then the Archb. awnswering that the Apost. rule was an Idea of a mynister, Mr Tr. replied that to make it an Idea overturned all religion, seeing that so, the dutie of Magistrats, Commonweales, Churches, Housholders, parents, children, and so everie man would make his dutie an Idea.

My L. Treasurer objected it was impossible.

To whome Mr Tr. awnswered that if other Churches lying under the edge of the bloudie sworde of their Magistrats, and wanting the protection and favour which God had given to us, did keepe this order, it could not be thought impossible for us, in so happie a time, and so great meanes to attaine unto it.

Then Mr Sp. began to object against Nonresidence and Pluralities, but that being a litle talked of as a matter disalowed of by all judgments, and needing no debating, my L. of Leic., saying it grew late (as it was indeede) saide he woulde breake of[f] our disputation with another matter.

Which he did in making a request to the Archb. of Caunterb., which being a litle talked on, the Lordes arose, the companye departed."

174—5. "London 1585. Mr Field and Mr Egerton."

I. "A note of Mr Field his suspension."

A Latin note to say that Field appeared before the Bishop

[1] On this point both parties claim the support of Ridley.

of London, D^r^ Aubrey, D^r^ Stanhope, and Registrar Bedell at Fulham Mar 4^th^ 1584/5.

"Jurat.

1. M^r^ Feild saith he precheth and catechiseth in the church of Aldermary, London.

2. He saith there is some meetinge of his fellow ministers at his house, as M^r^ Barber with others touchinge conference in learneinge three or foure, and saith that he hath resorted to the Scottishe ministers[1], beinge three of them, and sometimes they come to his house.

3. He is commaunded not to preche, read, catechise, nor use any ecclesiasticall function, nor to resorte to any assemblies or meetings, nor any to him, otherwise then in conference ii or iii of his fellowe ministers for learneinge sake."

II. "M^r^ Feilde and M^r^ Egerton their tolleration."

They cannot subscribe because of the "generall inconveniences" of the book, and also owing to "so many and so grosse... particular faults" contained in it. Indeed, to say that the book contains nothing contrary to God's Word, is "to call darkenes lighte,"—"especially if, as appeareth, the booke of orderinge preists, bb., and deacons be annexed as a parte therof."

The inconveniences are two:

1. "yt alloweth a readinge and insufficient minister and ministery, as ether sufficient or at the least very tollerable, and requireth not a sufficient minister and preching ministery as necessarie to the buildeinge of the church and edifieinge of the members of Jesus Christe, although he has sett this downe as the most excellent and only meanes. [Eph. 4.]"

[Proofs of this are:

(*a*) The Book and Injunctions command so much reading, singing, and repetition that there is no time for preaching.

(*b*) The "deepe silence" of the Book concerning preaching and exposition.

(*c*) "The qualitie of the person supposed by the booke. Which for the most parte is suche an one as like an ignorant sotte must be taughte when to stande, when to sitt, when to kneele, when to move, and when to rest, when to lift up his voyce, and when to lett it downe...."

(*d*) "The lamentable experience and wofull practise these 26 yeres agree unto this. Wherin we se that such have bene and dayely are consecrated and admitted by the BB. that can recite the things conteined in the booke."

[1] For the Scottish ministers see below, No. 238 [Davison], and Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions*, 26, 74.

(*e*) "We see also that they cannot be resisted or kept out of any place, but may have their quare impedit as well as others, and beinge in they have sure hold, and surer then the most learned and zealous precher in the lande."]

2. This is even more intolerable than the first.

"It is not only unfitt to edifie the people in the most holy fath of our Saviour Christ, but it is also very daungerous, and of great force to harden the obstinate papists, to nourish the weak in their superstition and ignorance, to breede Atheisme and infidelity universally, and to be a stumblinge blocke to the ministers and people."

[Proofs: (*a*) Much is taken directly from the Portuise.

(*b*) The Book is framed on the Portuise, with "abrupte confession," "rashe absolution," and chanting of songs, psalms, and hymns.

(*c*) Ten points in which the Book follows the Popish practice, e.g., non-residence, lack of preaching, idle ministers.]

Therefore[1]

"that which (ether directly or indirectly) justifieth and tollerateth an insufficient and unpreachinge ministery, and justifieth against this sacred ordinance of our Sav. Christ, and the only meanes of our salvation, that which nourisheth the people in ignorance and superstition, leadeth to Atheisme and Epicurism, and is occasion of offence and fallinge both to the minister and people, is not by subscription to be allowed as ether agreeable to the Worde of God, or not repugnant to the same, but rather to be disclaimed as a booke of man, that most daungerously encountreth with the holy booke of God. But such is the booke of common prayer, as hath bene declared: therfore we may not subscribe unto yt."

The "particular faults" are "ether errors in doctrine or sinnes in practize."

Eleven "errors in doctrine" are detailed, including:

(*a*) "the error of Origen...that all men shalbe saved."

(*b*) "there is some parte of the Worde lefte out and lett passe as ether unfitt or unworthie, or at the least not necessarie to be read in the church. Wheras the Lord saith, thou shalt not take awaie."

Therefore

"that which containeth and mainetaineth diverse grosse and dangerous untruthes and errors contrarie to the truth of Gods worde is not by subscription to be approved as agreeable or at the least not repugnant to the seid worde."

[1] One manuscript lacks this summary, having in its place an argument on baptism by women.

After stating six "sinnes in practize," the conclusion is:

"That which prophaneth and abuseth the worde, sacraments, and discipline of Jesus Christ, and is injurious to the minister thereof, ought not by subscription to be approved. But the book doth all these thinges. Ergo."

If some say they should subscribe, making an exception of all these things, protesting that they accept the Book only so far as it accords with the Word of God, they reply that such a subscription is "vaine and frivolous," and cannot be made with a good conscience; it would be but "a deludinge shifte to serve our owne turnes and satisfie the BBs," and "Esopes fables" might just as well be subscribed.

"Therefore we desire the bishops to take heed whereunto they urge us. The magistrates to resiste them, that they do not urge us, the people to consider that we have cause to refuse, and admonishe our fellow ministers to beware of subscription."

176. 1585. "The answere exhibited 11° Januarii 1584 An° regni reginae Elizab. 27 to the Archbb. and other highe commissioners. Question made to Eusebius Pagett, minister: Whether he would observe the book of common prayer."

I. Paget's Statement.

"I, Eusebius Paget, minister of the parishe church of Kilkehampton in the diocese of Exon., do acknowledge that by the statute made in the parlament holden in the 1° yere of our most gracious Soveraigne...[I] am bounde to use the administration of each of the Sacraments and the common and open prayer in such order and fourme as is mentioned in the booke authorized by the seid statute, or els to abide such paines as by the lawe are imposed upon me. And I have not contrarye to the seid statute refused to use the seid common prayer or to minister the Sacraments in the seid parishe churche in such order and fourme as they be mentioned and set forth in the seid booke. For the seid booke hath not bene shewed mee in the seid parishe. And when that booke is shewed mee, I ether will use the same, or els otherwise as a dutifull and obeydient subject behave my selfe and humbly submitt my selfe to the lawes in that behalfe. I have very willingely and with all humble obedience in the administration of the Sacraments and other open prayers in the seid parish use[d] rites, ceremonies, and orders set forth in the seid booke, allthoughe I have not used all rites, ceremonies, and orders...as is [there] mentioned.

1. Partly for that to my knowledge, there is not in the seid church the seid booke.

2. Partly for that I am given to understande that yow before whom I stand, and mine ordinarie, and the most parte of the BBs and ministers do use greater liberty in omitting and alteringe the seid rites, ceremonies, and orders.

3. And especially for that I am not fully resolved in conscience that I maye use diverse of them.

4. And for that when I tooke the charge of that church, I was promised by mine ordinarie that I should not be urged to such ceremonies, which I am enformed he might do by the lawe.

In those things which I have omitted, I have done nothinge obstinately, nether have I used any other rite, ceremonie, order, fourme, or manner of administration of the Sacraments, or other open prayers then is mentioned in the seid booke.

I have not preached, declared, or spoken any thinge in the derogation or depravinge of the said booke. Althoughe there be some thinges in the said booke which I doubt whether I maye use or practise.

Whereof I humbly praye I maye have the libertie allowed by the seid booke, that I maye have in some convenient tyme favorable conference ether with mine ordinarie or with some other by yow to be assigned. Which I seek, not for any desire I have to keepe the seid liveinge, but only for the better resolution and satisfaction of mine owne conscience, as God knoweth.

Subscribed by mee thus,
by me, Lame[1] Eusebius Paget."

II. "The common Lawiers case."

1. The Prayer Book provided in the church, although printed "With Privilege," is not the one authorised in 1559.

2. The minister was promised by both Ordinary and patron that he would not be required to use such ceremonies as troubled his conscience, nor "urged to the precise observation of the things in the established booke."

3. Nevertheless he read the greater part of the book, omitting only things against his conscience or not commanded by the Act of 1559.

4. His Ordinary then commanded him to use the book in every point, but no proper book was provided, and so he behaved as before. At this both Ordinary and patron were enraged, and the latter secured his presentment by means of churchwardens and sidesmen nominated by himself, and not properly elected.

[1] Paget broke his right arm at Oxford, and was incapacitated all his life.

5. Called before the High Commission, the minister made the above statement.

On this evidence "the generall question is, Whether the seid highe commissioners maye, for or upon these premises, deprive the seid minister?"

This resolves itself into thirteen particular questions viz.,

1. Ought the *minister* to provide the book?
2. Does the Statute command "the wholle use of the seid book"? Is it illegal to omit a part of it?
3. Does the Statute authorise deprivation for such omission?
4. Does the presentment—which does not mention wilful and obstinate omission—afford sufficient basis for deprivation?
5. Can deprivation, the second degree of punishment according to the Statute, be lawfully inflicted on a minister not previously convicted?
6. Can the minister be said to "refuse contrarie to the Statute" when "he was not lawfully required"?
7. Is the request of the parish that he should use the same book as before lawful?
8. If he accede to this request, is he liable to deprivation?
9. Can deprivation be inflicted for an offence not punishable by deprivation, according to the Act?
10. If the minister is irregularly "convented," presented, and charged to observe the book, can this reckon as one of the three canonical admonitions which must precede deprivation?
11. If he use the "most materiall, substantiall, and essentiall parts" of the book, can he be legally deprived?
12. Can the Ordinary license a minister to omit immaterial parts of the book?
13. If the Ordinary did this, can the minister be rightly deprived?

III. "The principall causes sett downe in the deprivation are tow [*sic*, two]—the first is the omission of parte of the publike prayers, the cross in bapt., and the surplice; the second, irregularitie incurred by dealinge in the ministerie after suspension."

(1) It should be remembered that the Book allows liberty to preachers. The minister's infirmity and the distance of his house and his parishioners from the church make it unreasonable to ask that he should read the whole of the prayers as well as preach two sermons.

The permission granted by the Ordinary, and the fact that Paget acted as he did through conscience and not through

obstinacy, should have secured him against deprivation. Indeed the deprivation is illegal, for the Canon Law says that only great offences, and those expressly cited, are so punishable. A nonresident may never come near his charge in twenty years, and yet he will not be deprived, and his is a much greater crime than Paget's. Even the Papists would not give so severe a punishment for such a breach of law, and in England no one has ever been deprived for disobeying the Injunctions, or not preaching quarter sermons. M^r^ Paget asked for conference according to law, but he did not receive the three legal admonitions; throughout he has been badly treated.

(2) (*a*) The suspension was illegal, and therefore void. There is no legal power to demand any subscription other than that authorised in the Act of 1571.

(*b*) If the suspension were valid, it had long since been cancelled by the Queen's pardon.

(*c*) M^r^ Paget did not "deale in the ministerie before he had procured from the archb. of Cant. a release of that suspension, as the Earle of Huntingdon can testifie."

IV. "Farmers Supplication against M^r^ Pagett."

This is the petition of "John Farmer of Barnestable in... Devon" to [?]. It sets forth:

"That where[as] the seid John, Beinge curate of the seid towne,... upon all hallowes daye last past was by diverse of the seid towne to the number of 80...spoken unto to minister the communion, the which your suppliant, willinge to do according to the order of her Ma^ts^ booke of common prayer, did answere the people they should have yt. And therupon went to one M^r^ Pagett, precher, of the seid towne, to certifie him that there should be a communion the daye aforeseid. The seid M^r^ Pagett answered y. s.[1] there should be none, but if there were, the seid Pagett woulde not preche that daye, nor come to the churche, with diverse unseemely and frettinge speeches unto y. s. s. in his house at that time used; as, if y. s. s. did minister the communion, he would thruste out y. s. s., or be thrust out him selfe.

That a peevishe minister should seeme to do contrarie to the order sett downe by the chiefest parishioners, touchinge the foure grande communions, which grande communions were by the seid M^r^ Pagett, M^r^ Poleworth, and Hughe Brasier from time to time

[1] y. s. = "your suppliant"; y. s. s. = "your seid suppliant."

quarterly sett downe, with a speciall prohibition that the communion shall not be aministred but at these iiij times onlye. And that those communions which should be ministred to the people otherwise then by iiij communions in the yere quarterly were private communions.

And that y. s. s., with the rest of the people, went to the Divell, and if they would needes have those private communions y. s. s. with the people should go to the Devill togeather. So that the people by the space of halfe a yere were denyed the communion otherwise then these iiij communions sett downe by the seid Paget. The people greatly murmuringe therat, your poore suppliant could deny them no longer. So that on all Sts. daye last paste, y. s. s. ministred to the people the communion, the same Pagett useinge the same daye all the meanes he could to staye, keepinge the people at his sermon from halfe houre after ten untill the clocke had stricken one. And because no communion should be ministred the same daye, one of the wardens...named John Whitchalls kept awaye the communion cupp, and would not provide bread nor wine, haveinge sufficient warneinge therto, but that which was provided by y. s. s. at the charges of the communicants. So that in fine, your poore suppliant, by ministringe the communion on that daye, beinge alwayes most readie to followe her ma^ts^ proceedings as duty bindeth him, is put out of his seid service. The seid Pagett, with Hugh Brasier, Poleworth, Henry Downes, Gilbert Harris, and others of the seid towne, not knowinge how to dispatch y. s. s. from the seid place, devised a lettere amonge themselves unto the L. Bish. of Exon., surmiseinge therin that y. s. s. was troubled with an infirmitie infective, and too odious to declare, and never able to make truth therof, to the utter discreditt and undoinge of y. s. for ever."

Farmer goes on to say that he and his supporters are disgraced, libelled, and scoffed at, being "counted papists and raisers of discord because they will not yeld to M^r^ Paget." The practice and doctrine of the latter are altogether contrary to the Queen's Book and Injunctions, as this summary shows:

1. He never mentions the Queen's "supreme dignitie over both states" in his prayers.
2. He holds that the Sacraments are "dumbe elements," of no avail without preaching.
3. "And that Christ descended not into hell, nether in body nor soule. And that Christ descended into hell, both body and soul[1]."
4 and 5. He claims that feast days are popish, and that holy days and fasts are but devices of man, and not to be followed.

"So that a great many of the seid towne contrary to her ma^ts^

[1] This double doctrine seems to require some elucidation from the theologians. As it stands, it looks hopeless—but that is to the historian!

lawes, make none accounte of prophaneinge these feasts, but use there [*sic*] daily labour thereon."

6. He says "that organs and singing are abhominable," and therefore disallows them.

7. "He precheth that ministers are dombe dogs, and worse then roges, and that those that have two benefices are knaves, and all those that went abroad to prech were rogishe persons, marked with Caines marke."

8. "He preacheth queene Mary to be detestable, execrable, and that she was a devill raised up amonge us in the shape of a woman, and a wicked Jesabell."

There are also "sundrie other things most contrarie to hir ma^{ties} proceedinges," such as altering the Book's regulations for baptism and churching, and calling the font &c. "dregges of popery." Not only so, but Philip Martin, a minister placed in the town by Paget, has several times refused to administer the communion, and has said, "Do they make so much a do for chewinge a peece of bread and drinkinge a cupp of wine?" Many of the townsmen, including the Mayor, are willing to affirm the truth of these things.

"It maye therefore please your Highnes to take zealous considerations of the premises to the avoideinge of such tumultes and frivolous opinions as by their innovations are already bread [*sic*] in the peoples harts. Whereby not only the people of the seid towne, but also of the countrie neere adjacent, are devided and distracted into sundrie opinions and strange conceits, unreverently useinge the ministers and ministery allso. And to do therein as shall seeme best to God and your gracious consideration."

177. "John Elliston."

"A note of the behaviour of mine adversaries and the cause of their molestinge of me dureinge mine abode with them at Preston and the manner of their proceedinge herein."

"Whereas some of my parishioners of Preston sundrie times with unjust complaintes molested mee, it was not for anye love to her Ma^{ts} lawes, but rather of malice to my office and personn, for reproveinge their superstition and wicked conversation. For they them selves were greater transgressors of lawes, as more at large apeereth by articles exhibited againste them.

Concerninge their religion, they were all vehemently suspected of popery, whereof they have shewed manifest tokens, some of them defendinge grosse points of popery, others not communicatinge once in ij yeres. Touchinge their conversation, some of them are blasphemers of Gods name, prophaners of his Saboath, contentious,

quarrellers, refusers to be instructed, one of them beatinge their minister, ij of them bound to the peace, after which time of releasinge (as also before) under a colour of law they revenged their quarrell upon their poore minister, whose hindrance and undoinge by all meanes they soughte.

After that I had bene their pastor x or xj weeks, and beinge most willing accordinge to my abilitie to catechise and instruct them, they pickt matter againste mee, to stopp the course, alleadgeinge that I did not weare the surplice, read the letany, crosse in Bapt., and such like, and so complained, first to D. Ellis, then chanceller, who in some sorte animated them againste mee, and the same men, being xxv in nomber, iij dayes after preferred a supplication to the Judges of the assises againste me. A yere after they did at ij assises twice indite mee before the Judges, and beinge called by their autoritie, I answered the matter and so was for that time dismissed.

In the yere of our L. 1584, the xxvij of December, a butcher did beat me in the streete because I yelded not to a superstitious cominge to church, which his wife used after her deliveraunce in childbirth. Because I would not upon his submission putt upp this great injurye, but for procureinge mine own safetie had him bounde to good behaviour, and three others his compartners, to the peace, immediately after they revenged their owne quarrell and his, as followeth.

They exhibited articles to the B. of Peterb., Edmond Scambler, before whom I appeared about the x. of Febr. 1584 [i.e. 1584/5], albeit my dwellinge was xxxvj miles from him. The articles in nomber were 16. My answere to the B. was as followeth. When I came unto him he asked me if I would subscribe, that was the firste question.

The speache betweene the B. and me, as faithfully sett downe as I could remember yt.

First he endevored by faire speeches to drawe me to subsc., but not so prevaileinge, he used scoffes and tauntes all that he could to disgrace mee."

In answer to the articles, Elliston said he did not refuse to wear the surplice, but he did not make the sign of the cross in baptism, "because yt was not sett downe by the worde of God that so I should do,"

'with that he scoffed, sayeinge nether is it sett downe what boote hose I should weare.

I replied that my boote hose were not offensive, and therfore were lefte and appointed as thinges lawfull for my use, but as for the administration of the Sacraments, God hath set downe in his worde, and not lefte them to our discretion. He then began to chafe when I did reply againste his speech, abuseinge me in some wordes, as callinge mee princoxe and such like. He asked me whie I catechised

old and yonge. I said, I have charge of all, and therefore must instruct all; he said the old people should not nor need not come to catechiseinge. I desired him to further and not to hinder good things. He was offended with mee for omittinge thepistle and gospell and letany upon the saboth dayes, that was a nother article. I answered I preched then and so omitted, but he said howsoever we prech, that must be read. He asked me whie I put backe some from the Communion. I said because they would not be examined. Which answere he accepted not, but saide I must admitt them if they could saye the 10 commaundements, Lords prayer etc.

Manye other articles there were like unto the former, unto all which I answered as occasion served, and at my departure he suspended me and said I should not tarry in his diocesse except I would subscribe. I said, If I did not, yet the earth is the L., and he hath a place for mee; with that, as at other like speeches he scoffed, and so for the time I departed.

The 6 daye of Marche he sent for me the second time with other ministers, to have us subscribe. The 30 of Maye [? March] he sent for mee the 3 time, and not haveinge sufficient warninge he deprived mee before I could come and my cause could be hearde. I appealed from his unjuste sentence, and told him he did not deal well with mee, nor with godly men which had a care to discharge their duties with a good conscience. Whereas others in whom was nether learninge nor honestie yet if they woulde subscribe, they were well dealt withall and favored. He sayd I spake well for my selfe, because none woulde praise mee. I said I spake touchinge the generall cause, at which he replied and said M^r^ Williamsonn and I were two of the most troublesome and insufficient in his dioces. I said, if yow go aboute so to discreditt us, yow shall get no creditt to yourselfe, for you admitted us; notwithstandinge oppose mee, or appointe a time to heare mee, and then I hope yow shall finde me, though not very sufficient, yet as sufficient as a great nomber of your subscribers.

The 4 journey he made mee take for a copye of my deprivation, which notwithstandinge he would not let me have, although he did promise me. Three journeyes I had after this to Peterb., so that although the place was at least xxxvj miles from me, yet vij times in litle more than one yere I was there.

About the vj of Aprill I tooke my journey to London for an Inhibition, and after my returne was againe at Peterbor. to serve yt on the B. Upon ascention daye after the B. of Cant. sent for me, by occasion of the B. of Peterb. letters, Who sought to prevent the prosecutinge of my appeale, at my appearinge before him; he first perswaded me to subscribe, which I refused, then he said, I have matter againste yow touchinge the high commission, whereunto I was willinge to answer, but (as their order ys) the clearke to the highe commissioners did examine me, as he doth others, so that be cause I was sent for, and mighte not departe without their licence, I got leave to retorne till the next terme. 1. *To London.* 2.

But before the next terme, mine adversaries came with new complaints to the B. of Cant. Who acceptinge their complainte sent a pursuivant for mee and that was my 3 Journey to London.

3 *Journey to London.*

The articles were but two. First, that at morninge prayer upon Whitsondaye, I did read but ij psalmes and ij chapters, and after that preached.

2, that I preched out of the 2. psalme, and raileinge against them (as they said), did affirme they were all damned that did trouble mee, and that they would wishe they had all their monye againe that they had spent againste me.

When these ij articles were answered by mee, they could not have any advantage againste me by my answere. Yet the pursuivant had for his fees no lesse than xxxviij^{s}, so that all my charges that journye coste me 53*s.*

4 *Journey to London.*

The nexte terme...I was sent for by the B. of Cant., and being there at Lambeth with him by no meanes could speake with him till the court daye, when the commissioners satt, and then haveinge many matters before them, litle was saide to me, but I was referred over to the B. of L. ; thus from one to another was I posted over, to weary me out with expences, whenas some court daies passed, and I called only, but not suffered to answer, yet at that journy I spent xxvj^{s} viij^{d}."

A fifth journey to London cost 26*s.*, and a sixth—which resulted in suspension and the threat of deprivation and imprisonment—45*s.*, a month's detention in London accounting for a bill of 20*s.* for horse-meat. On both these occasions Elliston was unable to secure an audience with either the Archbishop or the Bishop of London, but when his adversaries secured his summons to London a seventh time, he had a long talk with Aylmer at Fulham, "by meanes of M^{r} Carleton." He told the Bishop that he did not read prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays because on the former days he read a lecture, and on the latter the people were slack in coming to church. He also recounted the behaviour of his adversaries, but failed to secure their punishment.

On his eighth visit, the minister again proved obdurate, while he made a ninth in a vain endeavour to secure his tithes. He was then summoned to show cause

"why I should not paye their charges which had procured my deprivation. I said I had receaved sufficient punishment by losse of my liveinge, yet if they would take that course to make us paye charges, many should quickly be deprived ; the matter was referred to D^{r} Hamonde, who answered that nether in lawe nor conscience they were to receave any thinge of me. These my troubles endured

almost the space of iij yeres, in which time besides these 10 journeyes to London and vij to Peterbor., I was constrained to have one to Cambridge, many to Leicester and Northampton, so that all my charges by occasion of my troubles came to above £31, and since my deprivation have bene 3 quarters of a yere without any maintenance at all."

Elliston's articles against his adversaries—the truth of which he is ready to maintain on oath—follow. The Bishop of London refused to read them, and the Archbishop of Canterbury to hear them, and this greatly encouraged the adversaries, especially seeing that Whitgift told the minister that he "came not to accuse but to defend."

William Flamstedd of Preston Capes is "vehemently suspected of Papistrie" owing to his opinions and actions.

1. In private conference with Elliston he defended Prayers to Saints, to the Virgin Mary, and to the Dead, while he believes in the Real Presence in the Sacrament.
2. He comes to church only once on the Sabbath, and "in contempte of the worde preached," reads a book during the sermon.
3. He has only communicated twice in $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, when he ought to present himself at least three times annually.
4. He often walks in the fields on the Sabbath, especially during afternoon sermon, and when reproved, shows his contempt for public prayer by saying he can pray as well in the fields or in his house as in the church.

Roger Flamsted of Preston is similarly suspected of Popery. He behaves irreverently in church, for when the minister prays for the land and the queen, he "usually sitteth with his hatt on his head." He has only communicated once in $1\frac{1}{2}$ years, and his brother and sister seldom come to church. He will neither come to be catechised himself, nor send his servants, and he profanes the Sabbath by "often riding forth."

Peter Hastings of Preston Parva is similarly suspected. Although a churchwarden, he has not presented offenders, not even those absent from communion for $1\frac{1}{2}$ years; indeed he himself has not communicated during that time. By his oath, he should see that there is no talking during service, but he himself is a "common talker." He also breaks his oath in not presenting late comers and absentees; indeed he presents the minister only, while he caused a tumult in the church by "pratinge and talkinge" during the baptism of Henry Ryght's child.

Thomas Graye of Preston is suspected of Popery, a common swearer, blasphemer, and Sabbath-breaker. "He is a malicious, contentious, troublesome, and quarrellinge man," having been bound to keep the peace twice in six months for molesting the minister, whom he threatened for presenting William Flamsted for non-attendance at communion. By his evil example in wrangling with the minister and refusing to be catechised, by his profanation of the Sabbath and absence from the communion he leads the people astray.

178. 1585. "M^r^ Fenners testimonie that he was suspended for not subscribeinge 1585, Junij. 12."

"M^r^ Fenner.

Memorandum. That I, Dudley Fenner, was suspended from the execution of my office, both publikely and privately for this cause only. Because I refused to subscribe to the iij last articles generally propounded to the ministers that they should subscribe unto them. And this my suspention was pronounced by the Archb. himselfe. I appeared indeede before him and the rest of hir ma^ties^ commissioners to make answere to other certaine articles, but this was after my suspension, nether received I any censure or other paine in that respect after my answere to the seid articles. This I am redy to confirme (being lawfully called therto) by oth if it shalbe expedient. By mee, Dudly Fenner."

179. 1585. Petition of the Lower House of Parliament to the Lords Jan. 22^nd^, 1584/5.

[Printed in S.W. III. 118–24; D'Ewes, *Journals of all the Parliaments in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1682), 357 f.; Prothero, *Statutes*, &c. 215–9; original in B.M. Lans. MS. XLII. 92.]

180. 1585. "A Petition which was presented to the Convocation at the first session of the Parliament holden in Anno 1585 in the name of the ministers that had refused to subscribe the articles latelie enforced upon them. Wherin modestlie is declared the reasons of their so doinge, with requesting to be satisfied, which hitherto hath not bene done, or endevored, therfore is now set forth for their just apologie to the churche and for humble suite to the high court of Parliament for a further reformation[1]."

[1] The MS. is frayed and torn and difficult to read in places.

After a prayer, the petition proper begins:

"Most humblie crave of this right reverend assemblie of the convocation house, from whome her moste excellent Ma^tie^ most graciouslie and willinglie receives such suits as are to be made for the reformation of anie thinge that maie be amisse in the churche, a nomber of us who are called to be ministers of Gods word in this province, your charitable and favourable consideration of the cause, which by this writing we present unto you.

Wheras the allowance of the present state of our church in all points hath bene from time to time streightlie required of the ministerie, and speciallie of late within this province by a subscription to three articles, and that we, seeking (according to the Statute) resolution of the reverend fathers of the same, and unto whose conference thei have assigned us, have received no such certaine answere of our doubts as maie satisfie our consciences to rest upon;

We humblie desire in the bowells of Christ Jesus, for the honor of God and the holie peace of this church that it maie please this reverend assemblie, and speciallie the right reverend fathers of this province, to ponder and weigh with the weights of the sanctuarie of God, the reasons and causes which yet with hold us from this subscription, and either to resolve us of the points we have set downe, that we maie clearlie understand how with a good conscience we maie yielde unto it, Or you shall judge either all or some parte of that we alledge to be just and reasonable, then that it maie please your wisdomes to become favourable meanes to her most excellent Ma^tie^ and the High Court of Parliament for the reformation of such things as by the word of God are to be redressed.

We seeke not (the Lord being witnes) to deface the state of our church, nor take anie pleasure to discover the imperfections of it, whose true honour, happie state, and holie peace we wish more then anie thinge in the world, and desire that these things maie be concealed from the common enemie, and never heard at Roome, nor at Rhemes, according as it is said, Tell it not in Gath....

But upon necessities and extremities which some of us have bene brought unto, and especiallie which are endured by the poore and desolate churches, wherin sometimes we have laboured to our power faithfullie to serve the Lord in the ministrie of his word, and now left without any preaching minister amongest them, which woundeth the soule of our soule, and our most secreat spirite, we are constrained modestlie to laie open the soars and wounds therof before your reverend synode...."

The petitioners state that they are willing to subscribe to:

(1) The Articles to which the law demands subscription, i.e., those concerning doctrine, and also to a confession of faith similar to that published in the *Harmony of the Confessions.*

(2) The Royal Supremacy, according to the 37^th^ Article.

To the third article, however, they cannot conscientiously subscribe, for many things in the Book of Common Prayer seem directly contrary to the Word of God. These things the Assembly is asked to consider with great care.

1. *The Scriptures.*

By the Act of 1559, only the service of the Book can be used. But some of the Canonical Scriptures are not found in that Book, and therefore a minister who reads those parts of the Bible not in the Book is liable to the same punishment as one who says Mass.

It is contrary to God's strictest command to add to or take from His Word, and that is just what the Book does[1]. God gave all Scripture for inspiration and instruction, and the parts omitted are as valuable as the rest and necessary for a proper understanding of God's will (e.g. the genealogies in Mt. 1 and Luke 3; also the Books of Chronicles[2], and Ezekiel, and parts of the Apocalypse). If it should be said that these are merely repetitions of writings found in other parts of the Bible, surely the answer is that

"the lord not sparing to speake twise the same things unto us, we ought not to be unwilling to give him the hearing."

Thus far therefore, the arguments "rise to this summe."

"It [is] against the Word of God to withhold from the publique assemblies of the church parts of that wherof it is saied nothing shall be taken from it, parts containing most reverend antiquities, auntient recordes, and authenticall evidences and testimonies of the chiefest points of Christian religion, the most heavenlie misterie of the love of Christ and his church set out in a gratious speach of a songe worthie to be songe by Awngells[3], finallie containing most comfortable doctrines, examples, and prophesies of judgement upon the wicked, but of mercie and comfort to the church of God. Now it hath bene shewed in the sundrie parts which have bene laied out, and are appointed not to be read in the publike assemblies of our church, that thei containe such excellent doctrine of faith, hope,

[1] This is quite as great an offence as prohibiting the cup to the laity, as the Papists do.

[2] The plea for the reading of Chronicles is very powerful and interesting. Indeed the descriptions of the various books of the Bible are all of value to the Biblical student.

[3] I.e. the Song of Songs.

patience, comforte, joy in the holie Ghost, and other such like notable pointes of instruction and use as before hath bene mentioned. Wherupon if it be true that all parts of holie Scripture being of such use are to be read in our publike assemblies, then must it needes folow that the appointing in the common praier booke of such parts not to be read...is repugnant to the Word of God[1]."

All the sacred writings are of equal value, as the Fathers held;

"the sundrie books and partes...are as the dyvers members of a goodlie and beautifull bodie, as the boughes and armes of a most faire and fruitefull tree, as one of the trees of Eden, yea, even as of the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and as the silver streames that flowed from pure head and christall spring in the paradise of God; finallie, like dewe and raine that is sent downe from above to water the earth. Therefore no one part of them may be with holden, [for thus the beautiful whole would be spoiled]."

The evil is made worse by two things:

i. The statement that the omitted portions are "less edifying" than the rest.

ii. The use of Apocryphal writings, with the implication that these are of more value than the Canonical writings omitted.

A long dissertation on the Apocrypha follows. Its books are but "human words," not divinely inspired or given by the Spirit of Christ in the way in which this is true of the books in the Canon. God's Word and the practice of the early church prove that they should not be read in public worship. Testimonies from "sundrie good writers" are given to show that the standard of the Apocryphal books is far below that of the Canonical writings, and an amusing collection of errors in them is made. Then comes the summary:

"It is contrarie and against the Word of God to reade in the church of God writings not inspired of God, not proceeded from the spirit of our Saviour Christ, not delivered by the prophetes and apostles, such as are not to bee preached upon, as serve neither for to edification in faith nor life, as make waie to the bringing in of all humaine writings, as are added to the Canonicall Scriptures, as are repugnant to them, being in part fabulous, savouring of superstition and magicke, and containing allowances of open impieties condemned by the law of God, and manifest contrarieties to it, in

[1] Again, if parts of God's Word are omitted in public reading, they will certainly be neglected in private devotion.

matter both of doctrine and storie. But the Apocripha are such, as appeareth by the former treatise....Therefore to reade them in the church is against the word of God."

2. *The Sacraments.*

These are the seals of God's grace, and so only believers can appropriate their full benefit. The Book of Common Prayer, however, speaks of them as if the outward ceremonies were the necessary things, saying that the child is regenerate after baptism etc., etc. Thus Popish doctrine is maintained, even as the Rhemists and the Papist prisoners in the Tower claimed[1].

"Baptisme is an incorporating of us into the bodie of Christe; a matriculating of us into the bodie of the church, an enrolling of us into the number of the citizens of the holie citie. The Lordes Supper is speciallie called a communion. It is allwaies rehearsed to have bene ministred to the holie assemblie of the faithfull, and hath expresse commaundement (1 Cor. 11) that it should be ministred when the companie were come together."

Private baptism and communion are therefore against God's Word.

After detailing many other objections, a summary is given:

"Thus to fold up our tapestrie, wherin we have laied upon [? open] to the plaine view of anie eye the true estimation, place, and number of Sacraments,...it maie be easelie judged that to attribute power of giving grace to the Sacramentes as for the deede done, to holde all undoubtedlie saved who are baptized, to give greater honour to Confirmation devised by man then to the holie Sacraments ordeined of God, and to prefer one of the Sacraments above another and above the Word, to minister them in private, to account matrimonie a sacrament, to require faith as necessarie of babes and yonge infants before the[y] be baptized[2], are all doctrines expresselie contrarie and repugnant to the doctrine of our Saviour Christ and his holie Apostles."

Further the Book makes other ceremonies, such as the Cross in Baptism, the Ring in Marriage, and the Laying On of Hands in Confirmation, into sacraments. The whole doctrine of confirmation "the English Seminarie of Rhemes alloweth for good and Catholique, that is to saie, popish."

[1] During the conferences in 1581.

[2] Still, children are not to be denied baptism, as the Anabaptists hold, for Christ blessed the children, and therefore would not deny baptism, the sign of these blessings.

3. *Discipline.*

This sets forth the laws of Christ's Kingdom, and without it anarchy results. One of the first of these laws enjoins that no man may exercise his ministry without lawful calling, "in choise after due triall and ordination with publique prayer." This rules out the "exercising of the censures of the Church by the bishops officers," who are mostly lawyers, without ecclesiastical calling, not being ordained with public prayer, but appointed privately—and often corruptly—by the bishop.

Again, the Book of Consecration claims that it is clear from the Scriptures and early writers, that the Church has always had three orders of ministers—bishops, priests, and deacons. This is "a flat repugnancie" to the Word of God[1], which shows a parity of ministers, the bishops being pastors "charged with some particular congregation to preach the Gospell with all faithfullnes and wisdome unto them." It is also against the Word and the practice of the primitive church for a bishop not to preach, and to rule over several hundred churches. There is nothing in the Bible to give a bishop superiority over his brethren in any way whatsoever—in jurisdiction, ordination, or confirmation—the Word maintains "an even equalitie[2]." The Book also authorises a bishop to admit a deacon or priest by virtue of his own authority, whereas in Apostolic times "the laying on of hands of the Presbiterie or assemblie of Elders" was always required. In every case mentioned in the Bible, "the consent of a number" is obtained before a man is ordained; to give all the power to one individual means that he can devastate the churches of preaching, as in many cases has been done.

"If we should enter further to examine their power to make constitutions of their owne authoritie, to binde all the churches and ministers of their Diocese, and to rifle the courte of faculties for dispensation of non residencie, of dualities and pluralities, with manie other suchlike: We doubt not but Paule and Peter, if thei alive, with the rest of the Apostles, would set to their hands, that

[1] Many Scripture references are given.

[2] In the Word there is no subordination of the pastor of one place to another, of Ephesus to Philippi, or *vice versa*. But the Book makes pastors promise obedience to a bishop, and bishops to an archbishop.

these are enormities as directlie opposite to their writings as darkenes is to lighte. Wherfore to conclude this point of the consecrate Bishop, seing by the Word of God it is not lawfull for a minister to exercise civill power, nor in ecclesiasticall to take to himself the ministring of anie spirituall grace more then the lawfull pastors of the churches maie doe; neither to usurpe a dominion over other ministers, to make and depose ministers from their places; to give and to call in licence to preach at their pleasure, to excommunicate and absolve, and to administer all the censurs of the church alone; to ordaine constitutions for all the churches and ministers of a Diocese; finallie, to dispence with flatte transgression of the law of God, and to doe all things by the onelie and sole authoritie of him self: we see not how our handes, in the approving such a consecrate Bishop, whose calling and authoritie to do these thinges is allowed by the books urged to be subscribed, should not be against the hands of the prophets and Apostles, and their handes against ours...."

The Apostolic custom was to ordain ministers to a full ministry viz. preaching and administration of the sacraments; the Book makes ministers in steps, authorising deacons to baptize, but not to preach, while the bishops prevent a minister who administers the sacraments from preaching unless he has further licence.

Following the order of the Book, the bishops ordain many ignorant men, who cannot preach[1]; this is contrary to the Word of God, which teaches that the first function of a minister is to preach. Similarly the duties of the deacon, as described by the Book, are altogether contrary to those ordained in Acts 6.

4. *Other evils in the Book.*

Holy-days are not ordained by the Word of God, neither are they allowed in the churches of Hungary, Poland, Scotland, Helvetia, Savoy, the Low Countries, and other lands.

Fasting is also against the Word, which supports only the fast of expiation in the law of Moses.

The Book is based on the Popish Mass-book; many things are taken directly from it, and not based on the ancient liturgies of the Church. There are also many vain repetitions and "manie ceremonies, tearmes, and speaches...stronglie savouring of superstition," such as "cope, surplice, alb,...the names of Priest, Consecration, Archb., and such like."

[1] It is not a sufficient excuse for bishops to say that they have been compelled to admit unworthy men by the "Quare impedit" writs of patrons.

There is no mention of Original Sin in the General Confession, of Elders or Deacons in the Book of Ordering, or of Synods of Ministers and Elders anywhere.

Further, the Book is not similar in every point to that authorised by law, and there are so few copies of the Book of Ordering that subscription is like "signing a blank."

"We might alledge allso the repugnancies in sundrie pointes betwene these books themselves, as the booke of articles with the rest, and with the Apologie of the Church of England[1], likewise with the booke of Archb. of Cant.[2], with the writings of the learned, both old and new, and with the auncient Councells and the late Confessions of manie churches[3]."

Not on these things, however, is the stand against subscription taken, but on the "contrarieties and repugnancies to the Word of God." If they can be satisfied on these points, the petitioners will subscribe, but their consciences so far will not allow them to do so. They therefore pray that they might be allowed to continue in their ministry without being urged to subscription.

"But if this our humble suite can not be graunted, and that without the subscription required we can not be suffered to continue in our places and calling, we desire that this our awnswer and request maie be our just defence and reasonable Apologie with all the Church to whose knowledge it maie come, and beseech the Lord to shew greater mercie unto those by whome this affliction shall be brought upon us, and the people committed to us: for whome we will not cease to praie that the same good worke which the Lord hath in parte builded amonge them by our labours, maie be still advanced to that daie when the Lord shall give to them and us comfort one in another, and in his presence everlasting happines and eternall glorie."

181. [.] A treatise entitled:

"It is the necessarye dutye of all Parliaments and common Counsells which are for the publique reformacon of the estate of anye christian Kingedome, Realme, or Citye, first to handle the Cause of the Churche, then of the common Wealthe."

Christ enjoined men to seek *first* the kingdom of God, and even the heathen fight for their altars before saving their wives

[1] Bishop Jewel's *Apology* (1562).

[2] Whitgift's writings against Cartwright.

[3] The *Harmony of the Confessions*. See above, p. 196 n.

and children. In the Old Testament, good kings attended first to Temple and church, and then to secular affairs, and evil kings were notorious for doing things in precisely the opposite order. If rulers leave ecclesiastical matters to be dealt with after consideration of affairs of state, they set a bad example to their citizens, who will leave religion to the end of their lives.

182. [1586?] "The reformation of religion by Josiah a commendable example for all Princes professing the gospell to folow, with a warning to all faithfull and true harted Subjects to incourage their Princes in so happie a course."

Printed separately[1], with a 3-page "Preface to the Christian Reader."

The printed copies examined have no name of author or of printer, and no date.

183. [1586.] "An acte for the reformation of the Ministerie in the Churche of England and for the supplyinge of the same with convenient and sufficient ministers."

"In the name of God &c.

Forasmuche as it is moste evident in the holie Scriptures that wheras preaching of Gods holie word faileth, there the people perishe, and that therfore almightie God hath laied streit chardge uppon his Churche, and thos that are governours in the same, to have a speciall regard to looke to the establishinge and maintayninge therof, and hath besides in his holie word declared by what order and election he woulde have such men chosen as should be ministers of the same, promising of his bountifull goodnes to them that have care thereof, to graunt suche men as maye be fitt labourers in his harvest; And wheras thorowe the good begynninge that her most royall Ma^tie^ and the honorable estates of this Realme have made in the reformation of Gods religion, manye things are nowe dailie brought to light by Gods holie word which before were, thorowe want therof, hidden from mens eyes, and that amongst other things, concerning a more right course in the choise and admission of lawfull ministers then hitherto in this Churche hath bin used, in so muche as the sundrie defaultes and corruptions that ensue therby do so burst foorth and shewe themselves to her Ma^ties^ godlie conscience and to all that regard the glorie of God, the contynuance of his

[1] Copies in W. and L. [A. 4. 13. g.]. Dexter's conjecture (in the extremely valuable bibliography attached to his *Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years As Seen in its Literature*) of 1600 for the date is obviously wide of the mark.

blessinge and the good proceedinge of this our christian common-wealth, and also the godlie instruction of the people of the same, which are yet in moste places destitute of good ministers, as sheepe without a shepard, as wen to her highnes great griefe and care, becaus God hath committed them therin unto her especiall chardge to be provided for, as also to the reste of the states of this Realme, whose duties ought to be carefullie imployed therein for reformation and supplying therof.

Be it enacted by her Ma^tie &c. that within six monethes next after the end of this Parliament, all and everie such person and persons as first were made masse priests, to sacrifice for the quick and the dead, which have not heretofore, nor shall not before the said daye, openlie and with apparent and plaine words and tokens of true repentance, renounce the same, and which have not, nor shall not, before that daye, be admitted minister or ministers by a newe vocation and election to the preaching of the gospel, shall, ipso facto, for the delaute of the said repentance and newe vocation, from henceforth utterlie cease to be ministers of Gods moste holy Word and Sacraments, and also that they are not to be reputed, accepted, taken, imployed, or used, to or for the administration of the same, within any part of her Ma^tie dominions, and shall ipso facto from thenceforth, be not onelie by force of this present Acte deprived of all manner of ecclesiastical livinge and livinges, dignitie and dignities, provision and maintenance whatsoever at that time he or thei shall enjoye or have in respecte of anie function or place appertayninge to the ministerie, or that he or thei enjoyed, for that he or thei were reputed and used as ministers of the gospell, but also remain so deprived until they have the 'new vocation' &c.[1].

And it is further enacted by the autorite above said that all and everie suche person and persons as shalbe convicted before those that hereafter in this statute are appointed in such cases, by the testimonye of sufficient witnesses, by their owne confession, or by the notoriousnes of the facte, to have bin openlie knowen to have committed heretofore, since thei were admitted or used in the ministerie anye of these notorious crimes: Revoltinge from the gospel to Idolatrie, heresie, blasphemye, common swearinge, murther, sodomy, adultrie, incest, or have bin infamous, and will continewe in these wickednesses followinge: fornication, theft, perjurie, or in procuring the same or anie of them, also in usurie, common drunkennes, common gaminge, taverne or alehouse huntinge with drunkards and common gamesters (for the same are to the grievous slander of the gospel, to the great offence of the Churche, to the moste like blemishe of the reverent ministerie, and to the high displeasure of Almightie God), all and everie suche person and persons, immediatlie upon any suche conviction made, he or thei shalbe put out, as after in this statute is asserted, to be from thenceforth no ministers, and by force of this present acte shalbe

[1] I.e. haunting.

disabled to have and enjoye any suche livinge, dignitie, provision and maintenance whatsoever he or they have had or then have in respect of the ministerie, and shall never from henceforth be admitted to the ministerie ageine, nor to any dignitie, provision or maintenance perteyninge to the ministerie.

Be it also enacted by the autorite aforesaid that all and everie suche person or persons, as have bin admitted to the ministerye of the gospell, wanting Gods giftes of true interpretation and utterance of Gods holie word, which by the Scriptures are necessarilie required in all those that are to be admitted to the function and office, immediatlie upon due examynation and proofe therof made, by suche persons as hereafter in this present statute are appointed to that purpose, he or thei shalbe published no Ministers by the like order as after is specified.

Provided alwaies that if any of these last recited persons shall afterwards, by their testimonies to whom the examination apperteineth, be perceived to have atteined to such giftes as are required to be in a minister of Gods woord, that then he or thei maye be admitted to the ministerie and enjoy suche livinge and maintenance as by lawe is then dewe to the Minister in that place whereunto he or thei are admitted, anythinge in this present statute to the contrarie notwithstandinge.

Provided also, and be it enacted by the autorite aforesaid, that forasmuch as by thees meanes divers that were in the ministerie shalbe presentlie to seeke of a newe trade of life, that the Justices of Peace of everie shire and the Maiors, Aldermen, Bailiffs, and suche like head officers in Cities and townes corporate within this Realme shall in their open Sessions and chief Courts of their Cities and Townes corporate, take order for those that were displaced in their shires, cities and townes, beinge not of those that are by this statute utterlie disabled for ever being ministers, that thei and everie of them maye be by their good discretions provided for with some pension out of the livinge or livings, as before, wherto thei were instituted parsons or vicars, or wherein thei had before any chardge in the ministerie, untill they maye imploye themselves uppon some other vocation, that thei maye not continew an idoll life, nor to be a burthen to the Churche; but if thei be so aged or impotent that thei cannot by anie newe trade gett their livinge, except meanes maye be made to suche friends of their owne as are of abilitie to maintaine them, or except thei have goodes sufficient to live uppon, or can be placed in some hospitall, or by suche like meanes be provided for, the Justices aforesaid shall rate what pensions he or thei shall have out of the ministers living of the parishes as before, and thei shall graunt warrants to distreine uppon the goods of the ministers then resident in the said parishes for the whole or any parte of the said pension, or any arrerages therof. [1]But if the

[1] This clause is added in the margin and at the foot of the MS.—the last few words are very difficult to read.

said livinge be to[o] little or not sufficient for the present incumbent travailinge there amongst that people in the word of God and prayer, and to contribute to the reliefe of the partie deposed, then it is enacted by thauthoritie aforesaid, that all such as be displaced, beinge men for want of gifts insufficient for the ministerie, shalbe mainteyned by the common chardge of the shier where they last inhabited and dwelt as ministers among them, which maytenance also shalbe levied of everie parish in the same shier, by the authoritie of the Justices of the same shier, bothe for the somme and order therof accordinge to their said discretion.

[The next clause deals with the apportionment of the year's revenue of a living between the deprived and incoming minister.]

Be it further enacted by the authoritye aforesaid that there be no election of any minister except it be to some certeine congregation or parishe then vacant, and that everie one which from henceforth is admitted to the ministerie of Gods word and sacraments, to the end it maye be knowen whether he be of sound judgement in the interpretation of the holie Scriptures, and whether he hath therewith the gifte of utterance to preache unto the people, shalbe sundrie times examined and hearde in the ministers assemblies and generall conferences, which are holden next unto the place whereunto he is to be admitted, and be commended and allowed by them under their testimoniall given of him to the same place, subscribed with the names of all or the greater parte of them.

And if he be not knowen in that place wherto he is to be admitted, order shalbe taken by the saide conference and that vacant congregation whereto he is to be chosen, that one be sent at the congregations chardges to the place he hath bin longe conversant, to the end to bring them certificats of the honest life and conversation that he hathe bin of before time, well knowen to men of good credit, whiche shall likewise subscribe their names to their testimonyall in that behalfe, and the testimoniall shalbe, by the appointment of the said conference and congregation, sent unto the Patrone of the vacant churche; which don, the man shalbe presented by some one Minister of the same conference, unto the congregation, and the testimonialls being read uppon a daie of the publike assemblie of the same congregation, at that time a daye within one moneth then next following shalbe agreed of, when the congregation shall come together, at which time thei shall come in fasting and praier, and in hearing Gods word concerning the matter in hand, and that don, the congregation shall by holding upp their hands, declare their generall assent in admitting him to be their Pastor, and theruppon shall the minister sent from the conference and those that are of the Elders of that parishe, laye their hands uppon the said newe chosen pastor, and the minister shall pronounce him lawfullie admitted to be Pastor in that place, admonishing them so to accept and use him, and admonishing him to be resident there, and to do the dutie of a faithfull pastor, and so shall the action be ended with a praier or thanksgiving unto God, at the discretion of the

minister that governed the action. [1]Provided also, and be it further enacted that this Statute nor any branch or parte of the same, shall not cutt off from godly and well disposed patrones their right of presentation hereunto used; but that if they can or do present to the conference of ministers so fitt a man for gifts and life as they shall alowe of, within six moneths next after the same church and cure shalbe vacant, that then the partie so presented by the patrones shalbe admitted and alowed to the place before any other. But in case that either they will not or can not within the said time, that then the assembly or conference of ministers shall proceede as before.

Provided that suche conferences of ministers shalbe contynually kept, monethlie at the leaste, at some convenient place in sundrie partes of the shire, so as there be sorted to eche conference thirty or forty ministers at the leaste of several parishes there to exercise themselves in the interpretation of the holie Scriptures in a moste decent order, as hath bin already practised in sundrie partes of this Realme, to the great profit of the Church, and that thei be ready to do their endevours, for the discovring and publication of the deposing of suche as maye lurke among them, contrary to the true meaninge of this statute, and allso to bring to passe that order that by this acte is taken, for the admission of pastors to the congregations vacant.

Be it provided and enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, that these said conferences shalbe begunne within three monthes after the end of this present parlement, and the convenientnes of the places for these conferences and the nominating of all these parishes that shall joine in ech conference by the Justices of the Peace and Quorum in eche shire at their open Sessions shalbe ordered.

Provided further, and be it enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, that the severall conferences of everie one shire, and two or thre of the elders of everie parishe of the same shire, meet once in six monethes for the space of three or foure daies together, as matters maye require, at some convenient place of the same shire, nomynated by the Justices as is abovesaid, to the end that everie severall conference, or any certeine of them, maye there propound to that generall assemblie any thing wherin they desire further instruction or consent unto, according to the true meaning of this present statute. And that no larger assemblies be made in that respect, except it be by the appointment of Her Ma^tie^, of her honorable privie counssaile, or of the high courte of Parliament.

Provided also and be it enacted &c. that no Patrone of any vacant congregation, nor that anye congregation, do refuse to give theire assent to the admission of a pastor chosen as before, except thei stand to disprove one or both of the forenamed testimonyalls at the next generall conference of the ministers and elders of the whole shire as before, setting downe their causes in writing, so that

[1] This clause added in margin of MS.

the said assemblie allowe their disproofe and therwith give their consent, that the said Patrone or congregation shalbe free from that election, so that thei maye proceede to a newe election, in manner as before.

Provided also that if the Patronage belong unto her Roiall Ma^tie^, that the Testimonialls before mencioned be given up by the conference and vacant congregation according to the valuation of the first fruits of the living, either to her Ma^tie^ or to the Lord Chauncelor, by whom according to the said valuations, it was before used to make the presentation therunto, to the ende it maye be notified unto her ma^tie^ of the fitnes of the partie presented, which is the thing that in Patronages is alonelye intended and sought, and that don, in manner as before they shall proceed to the election.

And be it further enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, that forasmuche as by this meanes many churches wilbe come vacant, that the justices of eche quarter of a shire, and in Cities and Townes corporate, the officers before mencioned, take viewe of the whole number of parishes in eche of their quarters and make report of them to whom it apperteineth in the said shire, cities, and townes corporate as before, which are great congregations and which are then but small, and certifie in like sort, howe manye of those smale being joyned in one, maye make up one hundred householdes and not muche under, or one hundred and fiftie, and not muche above, and which church of those severall parishes that maie be so united, is moste fit for the rest that are united to come unto, and according as shalbe determyned by the whole benche, or of the more parte therof, wherof one to be of the Quorum, at the next quarter Sessions after for the whole shire, and in cities and townes corporate at Courts as before, so shall it stand, and be of force in lawe, by vertue of this present acte, and all duties due by lawe by those parishes to their severall ministers, shall thenceforth be converted to the maintenance of the minister of that united congregation, and the severall patrones shall severallie enjoye as before their patronages by turnes, first, his whose the greatest parte was, before the uniting, and if where the parties are equall his that is next to the Churche, wherto the other are united, and so everie one in theire course. And the minister that was of the same churche before shall remayne in that Church still thus united, except in cases in this statute excepted.

Provided alwaies that whereas one or more ministers by this meanes maye be displaced, the foresaid conferences allowing of them, and having testimonialls of their conversation from theme where before thei were, thei shalbe placed in the same shire where any congregation in the same is vacant, or be commended by the said testimonialls as before unto any congregation vacant in anie other shire, and in the meane time be provided for by pensions as before.

Provided also that if by that uniting or otherwise, any one minister shall have above two hundred marks by yere, whatsoever

shalbe above the same being enformed to the bench, it shalbe laid by the Justices of the Quarter where the said parishe is, to the minister of the next congregation that hath under 100 marks, so muche duelie to be paied by the minister that hathe the more to the minister that hathe the lesse, according to the appointment of the said benche in manner and forme above said.

Provided also that if certeine congregations, one or more ([1]that are in people and maintenance sufficient for one minister to attend, according to the proportions of howsholdes limited to one parishe before, being yet not able to be furnished of sufficient pastors for want of such, that the same congregations shall notwithstanding the foresaid limitations of householdes, be assigned by the generall shire conference above mentioned, to repaire to some one parishe adjoyning furnished with a Pastor, and for the time to joyne in the worde, discipline, and Sacraments of the same parish, untill ther maye be found and admitted unto them their severall pastors as before. And further if for tediousnes of weather or waye the saide parishes, united to other for the time, cannot make so usuall repaire to that churche, as the daies of publike assemblies in the same require, yet shall thei by all meanes endevour to be there uppon the daies of the ministration of the Lords Supper, and their Elders shalbe there, whensoever thei shalbe called by the pastor and Elders of the said parishe, but for other daies of publike assemblies, wherin thei cannot so usuallie repaire, there maye be appointed unto them (by consent of the pastor and elders of that parishe that thei come with) some godlie and discrete man to conceave and make their publicke praiers, according to the forme that shalbe by lawe prescribed, and reverentlie and distinctlie to read certeyne chapters, of the olde and newe testament, in order as thei lye, untill all the canonicall scriptures be read over, and so begin againe, and proceed therin accordingly from time to time, and recompence to be made unto him for his paines of the duties that issue to the minister out of the same congregation where he readeth, according as thei which appointe him therunto shall agree with him.

Provided also and be it enacted by the authoritie aforesaid that whereas untill this time divers chaples of ease have bin apointed in certeine hamletts belonging to the churche of the minister of the parishe towne, from henceforth either the said hamletts shall come to the Church of the parishe Towne, or els, being in number of householdes as before, thei shalbe united in one, and made a severall parishe, or els being farr from their wonted parishe towne, thei shalbe united with some other parishe of the same shire, wherunto thei adjoyne, by the discretion of the benche as before.

Be it enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, that everie person and persons, being entered into the ministerie, according to the intent and true meaninge of this present acte, or by reason or autoritie of the same, shall have his or their remedie for non payment of his or

[1] No concluding bracket.

their provision or any parte thereof, or any arrerage of the same, by present distresse vendible of the goods and chattells of the person or persons that deteyneth the same, uppon warrant from three of the Justices next to the parishe where the same ministers charge lieth, and uppon default of the said Justices, from the whole benche, or the more parte of them, in their generall sessions of the peace.

Provided also and be it enacted by the authoritie above said, that whatsoever shall be done by the ministers and elders of everie parishe, or by the conferences before specifyed, according to the true meaninge and intent of this present acte, if anye person or persons shall wilfullie withstand or disturbe the same, that then upon complaint made by the said parties grieved unto the benche of Justices at their generall sessions of the peace, the said Justices, or the more parte of them, shall comitt the offender to warde, and at his enlargement take bandes of him that he shall no further proceede to withstand or disturbe the same.

Provided alwaies...that this statute and everie braunch thereof shall from this present, according to the plaine and direct meaninge thereof be in full force and autorite, anythinge in any other acte or acts heretofore made to the contrary notwithstanding.

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